

Смолоскип - рік 5, №18  
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# СМОЛОСКИП

Ч. 19

Рік 5

ВИДАННЯ, ПРИСВЯЧЕНЕ ОБОРОНІ ЛЮДСЬКИХ ПРАВ НА УКРАЇНІ І В СХІДНІЙ ЄВРОПІ

Весна 1983

## У 50-ТУ РІЧНИЦЮ ГОЛОДУ В УКРАЇНІ

50-річчя голоду в Україні відзначають цього року всі українці Заходу.

Нижче публікуємо уривки з закликів з цієї нагоди СКВУ, Патріарха Й. Сліпого й Митрополита Мстислава.

З заклику СКВУ:

Щоб підтяти в самому корені національну субстанцію українського народу — його хліборобську верству, Москва пішла в 1932-1933 рр. на крок нечуваного й небувалого в історії людства знищення мільйонів людей — чоловіків, жінок і дітей свідомо плянованим та організованим голодом. Голодова облога України в роках 1932-33 була вислідом плянованого рішення російського більшовицького уряду в Москві знищити український народ. Було знищено всі культурні установи країни та їх надбання, розгромлено УАПЦеркву, розстріляно, ув'язнено або заслано учасників недавнього національного відродження, знищено навіть сліпих кобзарів.

Від організованого Москвою голоду в 1933 році минає 50 років, але в Україні небагато змінилося. Прикриваючись марксизмом та інтернаціоналізмом, окупаційна російсько-більшовицька влада посягає по душу народу, добирається до його розуму й його почувань. Москва наказує українцям та іншим неросій-

ським народам, вірити, що панування росіян є для них добродійством, що російська мова й культура є шляхом до поступу, що за все, що їм



Гравюра Василя Лопати принесла московська окупація, вони, неросійські народи, повинні бути Москві вдячні як за найбільше добродійство й опіку „старшого брата”. Всіх, хто в Україні виступав в обороні української мови й культури,

окупаційна влада обвинувачує в націоналізмі, під різними претекстами переслідують, звільняє з роботи, судить...

З заклику Патріарха Йосифа Сліпого:

Штучний голод в Україні тому п'ятдесят літ — голос перестороги мучеників, що кличе до покаяння, до призадуми і навернення. Таким голодом свідчення і перестороги для вільного світу остався наш нарід з Божої волі по сьогодні нашими ісповідниками, мучениками, героями, каторжниками, гонимими і переслідуваними Христа ради. Те їхнє свідчення, починаючи від жертв голоду в 1933 році, маємо передати світові для перестороги і науки.

Молімося в цю сумну річницю за ті великі жертви. Над усе молімося, щоб їхні страдання, сльози, терпіння і смерть були голосом вопіючого серед пустинь зматеріялого світу про єдину Божу правду, яка визволяє, про Христа, що єдином спасас і приносить народам мир

і правдиве щастя в любові. Молімося, щоб вісім мільйонів наших жертв були рятунком для світу.

З заклику Митрополита Мстислава:

В роках 1932-33 Москва, червона від пролитої нею у віках людської крові та безмежно жорстока до поневолених нею народів, керуючись виключно загарбницькими цілями, постановила довести до знищення з лиця землі українського народу, як окремої незалежної державної нації. Прямуючи до цієї мети, Москва силою забрала від українського хлібороба його прадідну та гірким потом скроплену святу землю, найміцнішу у віках твердиню української нації, а при кінці 1932 року загарбала в нього дослівно все, що вродила того вельми урожайного року щедра українська земля.

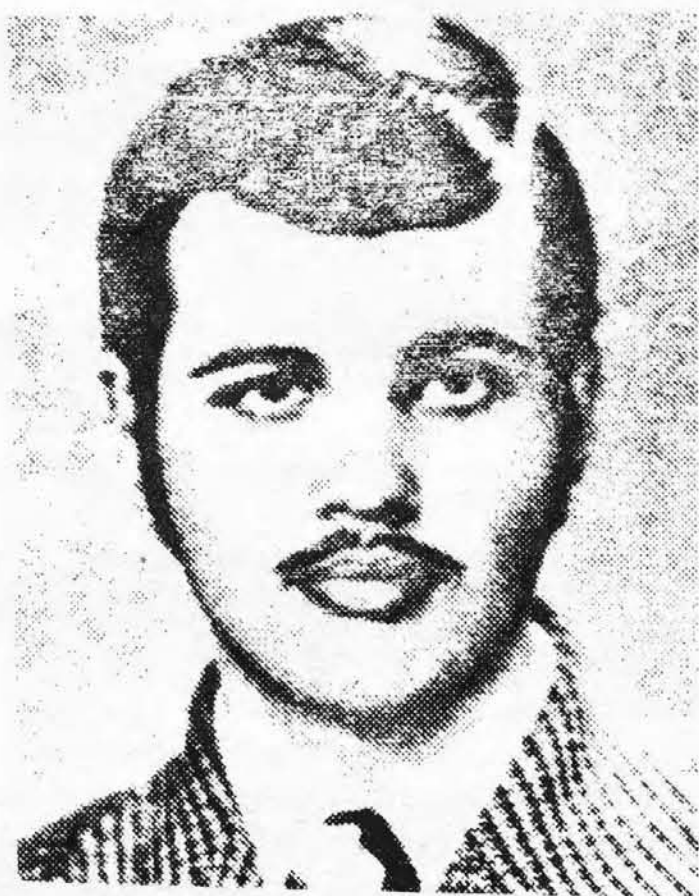
Тож, мої Дорогі й Улюблені, об'єднаймося у цей незабутній день в гарячій молитві та побожно схилимо наші голови перед відомими і незнайомими могилками дітей українського народу, які життя своє закінчили в муках голодової смерті та боротьбі за волю і землю українську!

Богдан Ясень

## В Афганістані загинув український поет О.Стовба

Окупація Афганістану радянськими військами перетворилася в довготривалу війну СРСР за афганським народом. Не зважаючи на затулювання цієї війни перед народами СРСР в пресі, радіо і телебаченні, інформації про тисячі поранених і вбитих таки доходять до населення. На цвинтарях виростають нові могили з дивовижними написами „народився 1962 року (або 1961 чи 1963) — помер 1982 (або 1981, чи 1983)”. Хоч на обелісках не позначено „помер геройською смертю в Афганістані”, все ж кожному ясно, що це за могили, де і чому ці 19-23 річні хлопці загинули. До міст і сіл повертаються тисячі поранених — калік на ціле життя. В містах і навіть в селах частіше починають з'являтися летючки й написи антивоєнного змісту. У наслідок зростаючого серед населення незадоволення війною в Афганістані і відкритих виступів проти цієї війни, влада примушена помалу міняти свої позиції і свій воєнний курс. Вона прямо примушена піти „в народ” зі справою війни, перемінити цю загарбницьку й імперіалістичну війну у війну „вітчизняну”, патріотичну, збудити націоналістичні почуття серед воєнних-росіян, і дістати підтримку народу для цієї війни.

На Україні влада, мабуть, вперше виступила з цією справою на сторінках молодіжного журналу „Ранок” (ч. 5, 1983), публікуючи великий репортаж про Олександра Стовбу з



Олександр Стовба

Дніпродзержинська, який загинув у бою з афганськими партизанами. Розповідь „про воєн-поета Олександра Стовбу, який, виконуючи інтернаціональний обов'язок, на

Продовження на стор. 2

## МИКОЛА ХВИЛЬОВИЙ — ЗБРОЯ

Видавництво „Смолоскип” ім. В. Симоненка спільно з Об'єднанням Українських Письменників „Слово” тільки що випустило IV-ий том творів Миколи Хвильового. У цьому томі, який має 662 сторінки, зібрано всі памфлети, статті, листи і заяви письменника. Цей том появився якраз у 50-ту річницю смерті М. Хвильового.

Нижче публікуємо кілька уривків з памфлетів М. Хвильового, які й тепер актуальні для України.

Незалежна Україна не тому, що цього хочемо ми, а тому, що цього вимагає залізна і непереможна воля історичних законів, тому що тільки таким чином ми прискоримо диференціацію в Україні. Якщо яканебудь нація (про це вже не раз і давно писалося) виявляє свою волю протягом сторіч, щоб виявити себе, свій організм, як державну одиницю, тоді всякі спроби так чи інакше затримати цей природний процес, з одного боку, затримують оформлення класових сил, а з другого — вносять елемент хаосу в світовий загальноісторичний процес. Замазувати незалежність порожнім псевдомарксизмом — значить не розуміти, що Україна буде доти пляцдармом для контрреволюції, доки не перейде той природний етап, який Західня Європа пройшла в часи оформлення національних держав...

Отже, оскільки наша література стає нарешті на свій власний шлях розвитку, остільки перед нами стоїть таке питання: на яку із світових літератур вона мусить взяти курс?

У всякому разі не на російську. Це рішуче і без всяких застережень. Не треба плутати нашого політичного союзу з літературою. Від російської літератури, від її стилів українська поезія мусить якомога швидше тікати. Поляки ніколи не дали б



Микола Хвильовий

Міцкевича, коли б вони не покинули орієнтуватися на московське мистецтво. Справа в тому, що російська література тяжить над нами в віках, як господар становища, який привчав нашу психіку до рабського наслідування. Отже виготовувати на ній наше молоде мистецтво — це значить затримати його розвиток.

Наша орієнтація на західноєвропейське мистецтво, на його стиль, на його прийоми.

Коли ми беремо курс на західноєвропейське письменство, то не з

Продовження на стор. 2



# СМОЛОСКИП

Ч. 19 Рік 5

Весна 1983

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## РОСІЙСЬКИЙ КОЛОНІЯЛІЗМ У СПОРТІ

1983-ого року відбуваються два дуже важливі міжнародні спортивні змагання: І-ий світовий чемпіонат з легкої атлетики (Фінляндія) і XII-та студентська Олімпіада — Універсіада-83 (Канада). І знову в цих важливих міжнародних спортивних іграх не братимуть участь ані Україна, ані Білорусія, ані Прибалтійські країни.

Все повториться точно так, як було минулого року на Європейському чемпіонаті з легкої атлетики в Афинах і як було на багатьох міжнародних змаганнях з різних видів спорту.

Саме в спорті російський шовінізм і колоніалізм проявляється, мабуть, більше й сильніше, як в інших ділянках міжнародних співвідносин. Бо в інших — наприклад в ООН, ЮНЕСКО, Міжпарламентському союзі і деяких інших Україна і Білорусія фігурують, як окремі „самостійні” і „суверенні” держави. Але з Міжнародного Олімпійського Комітету і з міжнародних спортивних федерацій вони цілковито усунені.

Якщо російським шовіністам і колонізаторам потрібно голосу в ООН, тоді і Україна і Білорусія є не лише самостійними, але й суверенними державами. Але коли їм потрібно здобути перше місце на міжнародних спортивних змаганнях і здобути якнайбільше золотих медалей, тоді Україна й Білорусія перестають бути самостійними і суверенними державами. Тоді вони стають однією „радянською державою”, одним „радянським (себто російським) народом”. У розмові вони навіть і слухати не хочуть, що перед останньою війною і Литва, і Латвія, і Естонія мали свої Олімпійські комітети, були членами Міжнародного Олімпійського Комітету і брали окрему й самостійну участь у міжнародних спортивних змаганнях і в Олімпійських Іграх.

У спорті найвиразніше видно російську політику поглинання різних народів і спробу перетворити їх в один „російський” народ. Тому вони й забороняють спортсменам СРСР на міжнародних спортивних змаганнях репрезентувати свої народи, ідентифікувати свою національність. Боячись, щоб КДБ не пришло їм ярлика націоналіста, спортсмени різних національностей навіть бояться давати інтерв'ю тим кореспондентам їхньої національності, які живуть на Заході.

І ми ще раз підносимо питання: чи не настав час, щоб Міжнародний Олімпійський Комітет і міжнародні спортивні федерації засудили радянську політику національної дискримінації в спорті? Чи не прийшов час, щоб зі спортивних стадіонів зійшов раз назавжди російський колоніалізм, як зійшла політика апартеїду Південної Африки.

## ПОКАЯННЯ В СРСР І В ... ІРАНІ

Використовуючи медичні й психологічні методи, слідчі можуть кожну людину довести до каяття і до злочину проти своїх найближчих приятелів, рідних і проти себе.

Кожне каяття падає найчорнішою плямою на систему і на ту владу, яка доводить людину до такого злочину супроти самої себе.

1983-ого року ми були свідками каяття у двох протилежних системах: у „комуністичному” СРСР і в теократичному Ірані. У квітні цього року в Росії каялися російські правозахисники В. Репін і його дружина, Р. Євдокімов, В. Долінін і Б. Манілович; на Україні священик В. Романюк. Через кілька тижнів після каяття в СРСР в Ірані каявся цілий Центральний Комітет Іранської комуністичної партії, на чолі з її генеральним секретарем Нуреддіном Кіянурі. Він визнав, що від 1941 р. комуністична партія Ірану була інструментом шпionажу на користь СРСР і що він особисто шпionував для СРСР від 1945 р. Сім членів ЦК цієї партії виступали на іранській телевізії, а Алі Аму закликав іранську молодь не йти їхніми слідами і проголосив розпуск партії.

Російські покаятники обвинувачували самих себе у зв'язках з американським Центральним Розвідувальним Управлінням (ЦРУ) і російською емігрантською організацією НТС.

Не зважаючи на цей погром і розгром комунізму в Ірані, радянська

## В Афганістані загинув український поет О. Стовба

Продовження зі стор. 1

землі Афганістану ціною власного життя врятував своїх товаришів”, називається „До багнета перо прирівнявши”.

Це вперше на Україні, живого чи мертвого вояка з Афганістану, влада зробила героєм. Сотні й тисячі гинули в Афганістані, але вибір упав на Стовбу. Для влади він був вигідний „герой”, який одночасно показував справжнє обличчя тієї влади, яка молодого українського хлопця заставила шляхом виховання, навчання й індоктринації — стати російськомовним поетом. Після смерті, Стовбу нагородили орденом Леніна, влаштували величавий похорон, скорим темпом видали збірку віршів російською мовою, тиражем ... 5 тисяч примірників (яка була розкуплена за один день — читачі очікували з них довідатись щось про інвазію Афганістану), про нього говорили на XXIV-му з'їзді комсомолу України...

Для влади було вигідно вибрати на героя Стовбу: його дід Андрій у лавах червоної армії завойовував для російської імперії Туркестан. І все ж вибір Сашка Стовби на героя таки невдалий для влади. Він закінчив київське загальновійськове командне училище ім. Фрунзе, був лейтенантом, але ... з опублікованих віршів, його листів, його нотаток у записній книжці ніде й слова не видно, щоб він був комсомольцем чи комуністом з переконання, ані словом він не схвалює інвазію Афганістану, ані словом не хвалить партію і російський народ (хоч пише російською мовою), ані словом не

пише про свій „радянський патріотизм”. У нього вийшло все навпаки: нотатки пише українською мовою, листи до матері і брата теж по-українському, у розповіді пишеться про авторів, яких читав і якими захоплювався Стовба — серед них Платон, Софокл, Арістотель, Овідій, Салтиков-Шедрін, Герцен і... Шевченко, Джордано Бруно, Галілей, Кондратюк, Цюлковський і Корольов, але немає, ані Маркса, ані Енгельса, ані Леніна, ані „Цілини” Брежнєва. Вірші його повні філософських роздумів, лірики, любови до Дніпра і до рідної землі, але в них немає ані слова про Москву, комсомол чи партію.

Сашко Стовба таки НАШ, а не їхній. Він насильно посланий воювати в Афганістан, загинув не за рідну землю, не за інтереси своєї Батьківщини. Його листи й вірші пройняті сумом, жалем за втраченою рідною землею. Передчуваючи смерть (мабуть ситуація була дуже складна), він писав своїй матері:

„Мамо, скільки ти будеш жити, прошу: вітай моїх друзів з днями народження, якщо зі мною щось трапиться”.

Разом з цим останнім листом він переслав адреси своїх друзів.

Ми сумніваємося, щоб розголошення трагічної смерті Сашка Стовби в Афганістані, збудив у будь-кого з української молоді в Україні, бажання йти добровільно на підбій Афганістану. Станеться навпаки: приклад Сашка Стовби є осторогою для мільйонів молоді України й інших народів СРСР, що їх чекає у цій не їхній країні.

## МИКОЛА ХВИЛЬОВИЙ — ЗБРОЯ

Закінчення зі стор. 1

метою припрягати своє мистецтво до якогось нового заднього воза, а з метою освіжити його від задущливої атмосфери: позадняцтва. В Європу ми поїдемо вчитись, але з затаєною думкою — за кілька років горіти надзвичайним світлом. Чуєте московфілі з московських задріпанок, чого ми хочемо? Отже, — смерть достоєвщині! «Дайош» культурний ренесанс!

Від Котляревського, Гулака, Метлинського через «братчиків» до нашого часу включно, українська інтелігенція, за винятком кількох бунтарів, стаждала і страждає на культурне позадняцтво. Без російського диригента наш культурник не мислить себе. Він здібний тільки повторювати зади, мавпувати. Він ніяк не може втямити, що нація тільки тоді зможе культурно виявити себе, коли знайде їй одній властивий шлях розвитку.

влада, керуючись мотивами експансії російського імперіалізму, а не ідеологічними, не виступила на захист тих, які їй вірно служили понад 40 років. СРСР не зірвав з Іраном дипломатичних зв'язків, а навпаки, намагається поширити торговельний обмін і далі дозволяє імпортувати через свою територію одну третину всього імпорту до Ірану.

В Ірані й далі арештовують і розстрілюють комуністів, а в СРСР арештовують і розстрілюють націоналістів, які вже відбули своє покарання.

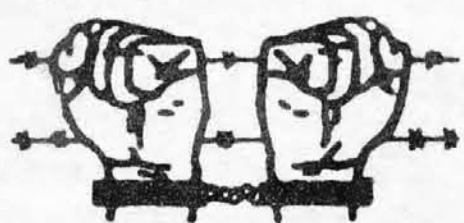
І далі каються в обох країнах люди, як каялися найбільш віддані режимові, владі й системі провідні люди однієї і другої країни.

Чи не прийшов час, у нашому XX-ому столітті, щоб поставити кінець злочинам проти людини в усіх системах, де влада доводить людину до морального самогубства?

Чи не прийшов час, щоб справу покаянь розглянува Комісія прав людини ООН?

Чи не прийшов час, щоб цією справою зайнялася Міжнародна Амнестія і правозахисні групи всіх країн світу і засудили систему покаянь, як засудили тортурування політв'язнів, смертну кару і використання психіатрії в СРСР для політичних цілей?





# СТОРІНКА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНЯ

## УВ'ЯЗНЕНІ В УКРАЇНІ

З технічних причин 18-те число „Смолоскипа” появилось без українськомовного додатку. Тому список засуджених і заарештованих українців, який мав бути опублікований в попередньому випуску газети, публікуємо разом зі списком цього випуску.

1. **АГЛИЧЕВ Валентин Й.**, нар. 1948 р., баптист, засуджений 4 лютого 1983 р. в Криму на 2,5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
2. **АНТОНЮК Зіновій П.**, нар. 24 липня 1933 р., інженер, колишній політв'язень (1972-1981), засуджений в Києві 25 жовтня 1982 р. на 1 р. ув'язнення.
3. **АХТЕРОВ Пилип**, нар. 1961 р., п'ятидесятник, колишній в'язень сумління, засуджений в Донецьку на 3 р. ув'язнення за відмову служити в армії.
4. **БАТЬ Полена**, член групи „покутників”, була засуджена в 1982 р. Докладніші дані про вирок і про неї на Захід не дійшли.
5. **БОНДАР Лідія Т.**, нар. 20 серпня 1935 р., баптистка, заарештована 20 квітня 1982 р., засуджена правдоподібно у Львові в лютому 1983 р. на 3 р. ув'язнення.
6. **БУТОВ Петро**, нар. 30 квітня 1952 р., фізик, засуджений в Одесі 27 серпня 1982 р. на 5 р. ув'язнення і 2 р. заслання за самвидавну діяльність.
7. **ВИШКОВСЬКИЙ А.Л.**, шахтар, свідок Єгови з м. Торез Донецької обл., був засуджений в січні 1983 р. на 5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
8. **ГОЛЬШТЕЙН ЄВГЕН**, нар. в квітні 1940 р., колектор мистецтва, засуджений восени 1982 р. в Одесі на 7 р. ув'язнення.
9. **ДЕРКАЧ Павло В.**, нар. 1931 р., баптист, засуджений в лютому 1983 р. на 1 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
10. **ЖОВТОНОШКО Георгій Д.**, нар. 1930 р., баптист, був засуджений в лютому 1983 р. в Миколаєві на 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
11. **ІВАНОВ М. Т.**, шахтар, свідок Єгови з м. Торез Донецької обл., колишній член ОУН, був засуджений в січні 1983 р. на 5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
12. **КАБИШ Мая М.**, нар. 1 травня 1953 р., баптистка, засуджена в м. Знаменці Кіровоградської обл. в літі 1982 р. на 3 р. ув'язнення.
13. **КАВАЦІВ Василь М.**, нар. 1934 р., священник підпільної Української Католицької Церкви, кочегар, був засуджений у Львові 28 жовтня 1981 р. на 5 р. ув'язнення і 3 р. заслання за релігійну діяльність.
14. **КАРПУК Віктор І.**, нар. 1952 р., баптист, засуджений у лютому 1983 р. в м. Миколаєві на 2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
15. **КОВАЛЕНКО Іван Ф.**, нар. 1923 р., колишній в'язень сумління (відбув понад 20 р. ув'язнення), засуджений в м. Волноваха Донецької обл. на 5 р. ув'язнення і 5 років заслання за релігійну діяльність.
16. **ЛІТВІНОВ Борис А.**, з Києва, заарештований і засуджений в 1980 р. на 7 р. ув'язнення і 5 р. заслання під закидом „антирадянської агітації і пропаганди”.
17. **ЛЯЩЕНКО Борис**, нар. 6 квітня 1959 р., баптист, засуджений в Запоріжжі на 2 р. і 8 м. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
18. **МАРЧЕНКО Станіслав П.**, нар. 1960 р., баптист, засуджений в Запоріжжі на 2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
19. **МАКСИМІВ Галина**, нар. 11 вересня 1932 р., засуджена в Ужгороді в травні 1982 р. на 1 р. ув'язнення за старання емігрувати з СРСР, а в березні 1983 р. на додаткових 3 р. ув'язнення.
20. **МАКСИМІВ Олександр**, нар. 27 листопада 1959 р., був засуджений в Ужго-

- роді в травні 1982 р. на 1,5 р. ув'язнення за спробу емігрувати з СРСР.
21. **МАЛИШЕВ Леонід**, нар. 25 жовтня 1928 р., інженер, правозахисник, засуджений в Черкасах 8 грудня 1981 р. на 5 р. ув'язнення і 3 р. заслання.
  22. **МОНБЛАНОВ Віктор В.**, нар. 18 квітня 1940 р., правозахисник, колишній політв'язень (1978-1981), засуджений в Києві на 5 р. ув'язнення.
  23. **ОЛІЙНИК Петро І.**, нар. 10 квітня 1932 р., баптист, засуджений у Львові на 5 р. ув'язнення.
  24. **ПІДГОРОДЕЦЬКИЙ Василь В.**, нар. 1926 р., колишній член ОУН-УПА, колишній політв'язень (1951-1981) був заарештований восени 1982 р. і засуджений на 1,5 р. ув'язнення.
  25. **ПІРИЧ Василь**, п'ятидесятник, засуджений в Ужгороді 5 листопада 1982 р. на 5 р. ув'язнення і 2 р. заслання.
  26. **ОСИП Роман С.**, нар. 1951 р., священник підпільної Української Католицької Церкви, був засуджений у Львові 28 жовтня 1981 р. на 5 р. ув'язнення і 3 р. заслання за релігійну діяльність.
  27. **СИМЧИЧ Мирослав**, нар. 1923 р., колишній член ОУН-УПА, колишній політв'язень (1968-1983) був заарештований в концтаборі вкортці перед звільненням і засуджений в Оріхові Запорізької обл. 17 січня 1983 р. на 2,5 р. ув'язнення під закидом „антирадянської агітації і пропаганди”.
  28. **СТАРОВІЙТ Іван Я.**, колишній член ОУН, колишній політв'язень, свідок Єгови, був засуджений в м. Торез Донецької обл. на 5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
  29. **РАТУШИНСЬКА Ірина Б.**, нар. 1954 р., фізик, постеса, була засуджена в Києві в березні 1983 р. на 7 р. ув'язнення і 5 р. заслання під закидом „антирадянської агітації і пропаганди”.
  30. **ТИМЧУК Володимир**, нар. 1959 р., баптист, засуджений в Макіївці Донецької обл. восени 1982 р. на 3,5 р. ув'язнення.
  31. **УБОГИХ Олександр М.**, баптист, засуджений 4 лютого 1983 р. в Криму на 1,5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
  32. **УШАКОВ Володимир Г.**, з с. Волоща Львівської обл., був засуджений в Москві 2 листопада 1982 р. на 3 р. ув'язнення під закидом поранення сторожа біля посольства США у Москві.
  33. **ШИГАЙ Василь Я.**, свідок Єгови з м. Торез Донецької обл., був засуджений в січні 1983 р. на 5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
  34. **ШИЛЮК Василь С.**, нар. 1940 р., п'ятидесятник, засуджений в м. Рівному 4 січня 1983 р. на 3 р. ув'язнення.
  35. **ЧИСЛОВ Б. С.**, свідок Єгови з м. Торез Донецької обл., був засуджений в січні 1983 р. на 5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
  36. **ШКІРЯВИЙ Богдан В.**, нар. 5 квітня 1932 р., баптист, засуджений в Дніпропетровську на 2,5 р. ув'язнення.
  37. **ШНИРМАН Семен Д.**, нар. 8 листопада 1957 р., єврейський активіст, був засуджений в Керчі 14 лютого 1983 р. на 3 р. ув'язнення за відмову служити в армії.
  38. **ШОХА Віктор П.**, нар. 11 червня 1942 р., баптист з м. Саки Кримської обл., був заарештований 14 січня 1983 р. і вкортці після цього засуджений на 2,5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

ПАМ'ЯТАЙТЕ: ненаписаного листа адресат ніколи не одержить!

## Привітайте українських політв'язнів і політзасланців у день їхнього народження

Нижче подасмо список українських політв'язнів, в'язнів сумління і політзасланців та адреси на які слід слати привітання з-за кордону. Подасмо також їх дати народження, які припадають у липні, серпні і вересні.

Пропонуємо привітати їх листом, поштівкою або телеграмою.

### У ЛИПНІ:

**АНТОНЮК Зіновій Павлович**  
нар. 24 липня 1933 р.  
Писати на адресу дружини:  
Сарнацька Вереса В.  
СССР, УРСР, 252040, м. Київ-40  
Нікопольський пров., 5

**ГЕЛЬ Іван Андрійович**  
нар. 17 липня 1937 р.  
Адреса на засланні:  
СССР, 169439, Коми АССР  
Троицко-Печорский р-н, пос. Мылва  
ул. Юбилейная, 16, кв. 2

**ГОМОН Віктор Олександрович**  
нар. 22 липня 1956 р.  
Писати на адресу родини:  
СССР, УРСР, Київ-20,  
вул. Січневого Повстання, 11, кв. 79

**КАНДИБА Іван Олексійович**  
нар. 7 липня 1930 р.  
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ВС

**МАТУСЕВИЧ Микола Іванович**  
нар. 19 липня 1946 р.  
СССР, 422950, Татарская АССР  
г. Чистополь, учр. УЭ-148/ст.4

### У СЕРПНІ:

**ЛУК'ЯНЕНКО Левко Григорович**  
нар. 24 серпня 1927 р.  
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ВС

**СІЧКО Петро Васильович**  
нар. 118 серпня 1926 р.  
Писати на адресу дружини:  
Стефанія Петраш-Січко  
СССР, УРСР, Ів.-Франківська обл.  
м. Долина, вул. П. Мирного, 14

### У ВЕРЕСНІ:

**ГЕЙКО-МАТУСЕВИЧ Ольга Дмитрівна**  
нар. 9 вересня 1953 р.  
Писати на адресу сестри чоловіка:  
Матусевич Таміла  
СССР, УРСР, Київ-67  
бульв. Івана Ленсе, 3, кв. 60

**ГОРБАЛЬ Микола Андрійович**  
нар. 10 вересня 1941 р.  
СССР, УРСР, 329013, УРСР, Миколаївська обл. Казановський р-н,  
ст. Новоданилівка, уст. ИН-316/93-1

**ПРОНЮК Євген Васильович**  
нар. 23 вересня 1936 р.  
Адреса на засланні:  
СССР, 743134, УзбССР, Каракалпакская АССР, Ленибадский р-н, с/х им. XXII партсъезда

**СВІТЛИЧНИЙ Іван Олексійович**  
нар. 20 вересня 1929 р.  
(Повернувся зі заслання)  
СССР, УРСР, Київ-87  
вул. Уманська, 35, кв. 20

## ЗАМОРДОВАНІ ЗА РЕЛІГІЙНІ ПЕРЕКОНАННЯ

Три вояки радянської армії — два українці і один молдованин, всі три баптисти, були замордовані під час своєї служби у війську. У Львові була замордована українська католицька монахиня. Нижче подасмо інформації про них:

1. **Друк Василь**, нар. 1962 р., баптист, з с. Н-Марінешті в Молдавії, був замордований 14 серпня 1981 р. за свої релігійні переконання під час служби в армії.

2. **Корнієнко Пилип**, нар. 1963 р., баптист, з с. Журавка Черкаської обл., був замордований за свої релігійні переконання в лютому 1982 р. під час служби в армії.

3. **Музика Володимир**, нар. 1963 р., баптист з м. Умані Черкаської обл., був замордований 10 січня 1982 р. за свої релігійні переконання під час служби в армії.

4. **Швед Марія**, нар. 1954 р., українська католицька монахиня, замордована 31 вересня 1982 р. у Львові за релігійні переконання.

## ПОЗАЦЕНЗУРНІ ВІСТІ З УКРАЇНИ

• У справі Зоряна Попадюка, який був заарештований на засланні в жовтні 1982 р., були проведені обшуки в жовтні — у політзасланця Є. Пронюка, 23 листопада — у Л. І. Васильєва в Москві, 15 листопада була допитана С. Кириченко в Києві, а 15 грудня К. Попов у Москві. З. Попадюка обвинувачують в „антирадянській агітації і пропаганді”.

• 9 вересня 1982 р. на Україні була створена „Ініціативна група захисту прав вірних і Церкви”. Склад Групи: Йосип Тереля — керівник, о. Григорій Будзинський — секретар, С. Петраш-Січко, о. Ігнатій, о. Діонісій — члени.

• Оксана Попович після 8 р. ув'язнення (1974-1982) відбуває тепер 5 р. заслання. Її адреса: СССР, Томская обл., Молчановський р-н, с. Молчаново, ул. Димитрова, 71, кв. 1.

• Олександр Шатравка і В. Міщенко, які збирали підписи під петицією проти ядерного озброєння, були заарештовані 14 липня 1982 р. Вони спочатку перебували ни судово-психіатричній експертизі в м. Тобольську, а згодом в Інституті ім. Сербського в Москві. Їхню справу веде слідчий Михеєнко під наглядом прокурора Копельмана в м. Советському.



Осип Зінкевич

## НОВА ХВИЛЯ БОРОТЬБИ ВЛАДИ СРСР З ІНАКОДУМСТВОМ

Передбачуваний майже всіма радянськими прихід до влади в СРСР, після смерті Л. Брежнєва, колишнього шефа КДБ Юрія Андропова, Західна преса майже поголовно прийняла зливу статей про цю постать, яка (не зважаючи на його вік і прискорений процес старіння) ще деякий час відіграватиме важливу роль у взаєминах між Сходом і Заходом.

Всі поголоски західної преси про Андропова-ліберала, любителя західної музики й літератури, про його довгі розмови з радянськими дисидентами на його дачі під Москвою, про можливий дозвіл на виїзд академіку А. Сахарову і т. д. і т. п. — в дуже короткому часі виявилися зви-

чайною радянською дезінформацією.

Закріпивши владу за собою (хоч йому ще не вдалося цілком зліквідувати опозицію), Ю. Андропов за дуже короткий час показав своє справжнє обличчя, яке нічим не відрізняється від обличчя Андропова-шефа КДБ, яким він був кілька років тому.

Синхронізація деяких подій показує, що внутрішня репресивна політика набрала нових масштабів, новою ще більшою жорстокості, яку можна порівняти хіба що до жорстокості часів Сталіна 1937-1938 років. Звернім увагу на цей аспект і на декілька інших, які стосуються теперішньої політики в СРСР.

### Боротьба з інакодумством

Тепер не підлягає найменшому сумнівові, що КДБ (а також і міліція) посилено почали застосовувати медичні й психологічні методи, щоб зламати інакодумців і довести їх до публічних покаянь заяв і завдати цим способом морального й фізичного удару опозиції й рухові опору.

Під час деякої передишки що тривала кілька місяців після смерті Брежнєва, прийшла нова хвиля покаянь, спочатку в Росії, а потім перекинулася на Україну і деякі інші республіки. Один за одним на телебаченні Ленінграду почали виступати відомі російські правозахисники — В. Рєпін, Р. Євдокімов, В. Долінін, Б. Манілович. В. Рєпін співробітник Солженіцинського Фонду допомоги політв'язням у своєму виступі назвав імена понад двадцяти радянських громадян, 9 емігрантів і 9 чужинців. Він пов'язав цей фонд із ЦРУ, дискредитуючи багатьох невинних осіб і всю установу.

Р. Євдокімова і В. Долініна наперед засудили на довгі строки ув'язнення, а через кілька днів після суду вони складали публічні каяття (подібно було на Україні з І. Дзюбою, який на суді взагалі не каявся — його засудили, а щойно під дальшим психологічним і фізичним тиском, через кілька місяців, він покався в заміну за звільнення з ув'язнення). Хоч з Євдокімовим не зовсім вийшло за пляном (коли в перший день суду він, немов сяяв, не подавав жодних ознак нахилу до каяття, а за 4-5 днів суду він цілком посірів, йому було важко говорити, що стало доказом медично-психологічного впливу на нього), але все ж влада досягнула своє — довела протягом двох наступних тижнів до каяття на телебаченні.

Після каяття росіян, влада перекинула свій експеримент на Україну. На Україні ситуація була складніша: далі існує Українська Гельсінкська Група, ніхто з її членів не покався.

### Андропов і єврейське питання

Коли Андропов прийшов до влади, деяка частина Західної преси повідомляла, що він єврейського походження. Перевірити цю вістку на Заході було неможливо, а офіційна його біографія, оголошена в радянській пресі, нічого нового, раніше відомого, не вносить, а навпаки робить його ще більш таємничою особою, яка нічим не відзначалася,

На Захід вже дійшли вістки, як над рядом членів УГГ КДБ працювало, щоб довести їх до каяття. У січні 1983 р. прорвалася на Захід вістка, яка детально розказує, як КДБ працювало „по доброму” над всіма членами родини о. В. Романюка — ним самим, сином і дружиною. Так, як у випадку Р. Євдокімова медичні препарати почали над ним працювати передчасно, так у випадку о. В. Романюка КДБ цілком забрехалося: пояснюючи каяття о. Романюка КДБ твердить, що він покався ніби в наслідок кампанії на його захист на Заході. А відомо, що таких кампаній взагалі не було (не рахуючи кілька принагідних і спорадичних згадок про нього в українській закордонній пресі).

З інших відомих в СРСР покаянь, слід відмітити гучне каяття узбецького письменника Мамадалі Магмудова, лауреата Узбецького комсомолу, автора відомого твору „Олмас Квояр” („Безсмертні скелі”), який каявся через кілька тижнів після смерті Брежнєва.

„Покаяння” російських інакодумців, каяття о. В. Романюка, М. Магмудова і тих, які напевно будуть каятися після них, абсолютно нічим не понижує їх. Це черговий раз показує, що вони, так як і їхні численні попередники за останні 60 років, впади жертвою жорстокого терору репресивних органів СРСР. Їхнє каяття падає чорною плямою на владу, режим і всю радянську систему. Маючи у своєму розпорядженні всі засоби терору — медичні, фізичні й психологічні — влада може зробити з будь-кого і будь-коли все, що їй завгодно. Тому для нас не повинно бути жодною несподіванкою чи сенсацією, коли після цих покаянь придуть інші. Влада на чолі з Андроповим визначила свій курс, який орієнтується на сталінські методи терору.

але дуже скоро опинилася на найвищих щаблях радянської поліційної ієрархії. Як би воно не було, національне походження Андропова не має найменшого значення, коли він, як і грузин Сталін перед ним, слугує інтересам російської імперської держави.

Радянська політика щодо „єврейського питання” стала за Андропова іншою, ніж була попереду. За російським історичним прикладом — це політика „батога і пряника”. У цьому питанні Андропов витягнув із архіву Віктора Люїса, відомого агента КДБ, якого радо друкує Західна преса (зокрема Європейська). Він виразно, недвозначно й цинічно сказав євреям Заходу „Останній поїзд [з євреями] вже покинув станцію” (і справді — у січні 1983 р. СРСР покинуло всього 81 єврей, а в лютому — 123, тоді як в попередні роки щомісяця СРСР покидало тисячі євреїв).

У Москві створено з єврейсько-радянських діячів армії, науки і літератури „Антисіоністський комітет радянських громадян”. Відділи цього комітету почали творитися по різних містах СРСР. В заміну за цю прихильність єврейських діячів до радянської влади, Андропов пообіцяв євреям видати вперше російсько-єврейський словник (який був гото-

вий до друку ще 1948 р., мав появитися 1979 р., а згідно з новими обіцянками появиться 1984 р.). Недавно видано єврейський підручник для початкового навчання тиражем у 10 тис. примірників, в авторитетному Інституті літератури ім. М. Горького в Москві відкрито вищі курси івриту, а в березні 1983 р. видано єврейською мовою книжку відомого єврейсько-американського письменника з Чикаго Моріса Гітліса.

### СРСР на перехресті нових проблем

Перед геронтократією СРСР недвозначно стоїть питання: чи вона зуміє подолати всі внутрішні проблеми, розв'язати національне питання, приборкати інакодумство, провести логічні й раціональні реформи в країні, чи вона закінчить війну в Афганістані й відмовиться від експансивних тенденцій в інших частинах світу — чи вона розв'язуватиме ці проблеми сталінськими методами.

Перших півроку Андропова, показують, що геронтократія взяла курс на сталінські методи, найгіршого зразка. Покаянні заяви є найкращим показником цього. У наступні місяці вони будуть своєрідним барометром внутрішнього стану в СРСР.

У країні, в якій влада матиме намір провести демократичні реформи і дати хоч деякі полегші в національному, культурному, релігійному і політичному питаннях — у такій країні добровільних покаянь не може бути.

Національне питання й надалі є динамітом в СРСР. Різанина росіян в Якутії, летючки й написи проти війни в Афганістані в багатьох містах і селах, заклики підтримати польську „Солідарність” — все це показує, що Андропову і кожному подібному до нього не легко буде долати ці проблеми.

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## В СРСР арештують ув'язнених

Західне правосуддя не знає випадків, щоб в'язня арештували в ув'язненні і судили ще раз за той самий злочин, за який він відбуває строк покарання. Жодна цивілізована країна нашого часу такої практики не знає.

В СРСР ці методи практикують досить давно. Засада влади: раз ти попав під колеса репресивної системи, тобі майже неможливо вийти з ув'язнення чи повернутися з заслання і жити нормальним життям.

Так перед закінченням строку покарання були заарештовані члени Української Гельсінкської Групи Василь Січко, Петро Січко, Юрій Литвин, Ярослав Лєсєв, Василь Стрільців, Петро Розумний і в дуже короткому часі після арешту були засуджені на нові додаткові строки покарання. На початку 1983 р. була заарештована теж член Української Гельсінкської Групи Ольга Гейко-Матусевич, яка очікує нового суду.

Заарештовані напередодні звільнення були українці Мирослав Симчич і Галина Максимів, росіянин Вячеслав Бахмін і Віктор Томачинський, вірменин Нізаметдін Ахметов і інші.

Одночасно влада розпочала (майже не практикований раніше) новий метод морально-психологічного тиску на в'язнів через писання до них листів. Для цього використовують колишніх дисидентів, які розкаялися і пішли на співпрацю з КДБ.

З України наспіли вістки, що із-за кордону наспівають листи до політв'язнів і політзасланців та колишніх політв'язнів, які повернулися на Україну. У таких листах невідомі автори підкреслюють безперспективність української справи і всього руху опору на Україні.

## ПОЗАЦЕНЗУРНІ ВІСТІ З УКРАЇНИ

• У Литві КДБ допитувало студентку педагогічного училища Зіту Шаракаускайте і її сестру Ону в справі їх листування з українським політзасланцем З. Попадюком. У справі висилки йому посылку у Вільнюсі допитували колишню учительку, а тепер працівницю місцевого костіола Бернадету Малішкайте.

з Москви, у якого під час обшуку вилучили матеріали, які стосуються справи З. Антонока, фотографії, нотатки про становище політв'язнів та інші матеріали.

• Згідно з непідтвердженою інформацією, у лютому й березні 1982 р. у Західній Україні розкидали летючки з закликом до страйку і до підтримки польської „Солідарності”.



# СМОЛОСКИП

ч. 20-21

Рік 5

ВИДАННЯ, ПРИСВЯЧЕНЕ ОБОРОНІ ЛЮДСЬКИХ ПРАВ НА УКРАЇНІ І В СХІДНІЙ ЄВРОПІ

Літо-осінь, 1983

## НА ЗАХІД ДІЙШОВ ВЕЛИКИЙ ТВІР УКРАЇНСЬКОГО САМВИДАВУ «КРАХ»

Шляхами українського самвидаву на Захід дійшов великий твір українського самвидаву — роман «КРАХ». Автор роману Лук'ян Карий [псевдонім] — історик, дослідник, автор багатьох статей, оповідань, наукових розвідок-досліджень.

З огляду на обставини, в яких перебуває тепер автор, ми не подасмо докладніших даних про нього, хоч вони у нас є.

### ВІД АВТОРА.

В тривожний і неспокійний час особистого життя писався цей роман. В... році страшні злидні, матеріальні нестатки, щоденні цькування, мов на голову сніг, і до того страшні фізичні й душевні муки. Цей роман з'явився і зріс якось спонтанно, раптово, хоча й був він зовсім не випадковистю, а спонтанною закономірністю тієї епохи і того середовища яке виражав і в якому він жив. Він писався нервово, уривками, без великих розумових заглиблень у час і події і більше інтуїтивно. Все йшло і пліло якось само по собі, будучи вже давно виношеним, зваженим і передуманим. «Крах» — це роман історичний. В ньому переплелось все перебачене, пережите, почуте автором, його рідними і близькими, почерпнуте з розповідей і оповідей учасників тих далеких подій, що нині відходять все далі і далі в глибину і сіру, мов води Дніпра-Славутича, на берегах якого він писався, минувшину.

## Йосиф Тереля: я завжди прагнув до любови, до Бога

На Захід дістався новий документ українського самвидаву, написаний ще в 1981 р. Це стаття Йосифа Терелі «Три роки Дніпропетровської спецтюрми РБ ЯЕ-308». У цій статті Й. Тереля описує події свого життя, які відбулися в 1977-1980 роках. Після звільнення Й. Тереля жив на Закарпатті. У вересні 1982 р. він створив разом з С. Петраш-Січко, о. Будзинським, о. Ігнатієм і о. Діонізієм ініціативну групу для захисту прав вірних і Церкви. У грудні 1982 р. він був знову заарештований.

Нижче подасмо першу частину розмови офіційних представників радянської каральної системи, яка відбулася у березні 1980 р. З Й. Терелею вели розмову підполк. Управління Дніпропетровського обл. КДБ Капустін, начальник Дніпропетровської спеціальної психіатричної лікарні [тюрми] полк. М. Бабенко і начальник 3-го відділу Дніпропетровської СПЛ психіатр ст. лейт. МВС Неллі М. Буткевич.

**Буткевич:** Чи ви розумієте, що ваше становище безнадійне? Жоден Захід вам не допоможе.

**Відповідь:** Я надіюся на радянських лікарів. Коли мене вилікують, всі проблеми будуть вирішені.

**Буткевич (знервовано):** Відповідайте по суті справи.

**Відповідь:** Але ж я не на Заході.

**Бабенко:** Скажіть, якщо вас

звільнять, що ви будете робити у себе вдома?

**Відповідь:** Жити і працювати.

**Капустін:** Як розуміти: жити і працювати?

**Відповідь:** У мене дружина і дочка, ось для них я буду жити і працювати.

**Бабенко:** Чи можна це розуміти, що ви не маєте наміру займатися антидержавною діяльністю?

Маючи доступ до різних архівів, автор написав документальний роман, який буде мати приблизно 600 стор. друку. Крім роману «Крах», на Захід дійшла також стаття цього ж автора «Дещо про сучасну українську літературу» і розповідь про переслідування його і його родини органами КДБ.

Передмову автора до цього твору публікуємо нижче, пропустивши дати і посилання на місце праці.

«Крах» — це клубок подених судьб, долей, мук, плачу, горя, радості, розлук, крові і смертей, клубок відчаю, страждань і людських мук; він документальний роман. Але жоден з його героїв не виступає під своїм іменем, хіба що за невеликим винятком. Роман — це спроба створити широке полотно війни, щоденного життя і взаємин у різних аспектах: зверху до низу.

Основним критерієм, яким авторові довелося керуватися — це правда, історична правда, яку він уважав і вважає найважливішою над усе, і за яку йому довелося вже через... рік стільки вистраждати і вболівати. Це час його власного переживання і переосінки духовних цінностей, остаточне відкидання всього чужого. Це час тривалого авторського безробіття, порвання зі своєю класою і повернення назад у минуле, в робітництво, де менше підлоти й бруду, а більше правди й щирости. Водночас це і час протесту й конфліктів з

(Продовження на стор. 3)

Осип Зінкевич

## Чи демократія і свобода під загрозою?

### Приклад міжнародних спортивних змагань

Говорити про загрозу демократії і свободи слова у західних демократичних країнах доводиться не завжди і не часто.

**Відповідь:** Як може хвора людина займатися якоюсь діяльністю?

**Буткевич:** Відповідайте на питання по суті справи. Ви що, самі визнаєте себе хворим? Для цього є лікарі.

**Відповідь:** Але ж я визнаний душевнохворим провідними психіатрами Союзу — такими, як Д.Р. Лунц, професор Тальце М.Ф. і...

**Бабенко:** Ми знаємо про це по матеріалах справи. Вас питають, що ви думаєте особисто.

**Відповідь:** Я думаю те ж, що й визначні психіатри Союзу.

**Буткевич:** Це не відповідь. Видно, ми вас не долікували.

**Відповідь:** Неллі Михайлівна забула, в якому «тяжкому» стані я прибув сюди в 77-му році. І лише завдяки вам я сьогодні можу чітко і осмислено відповідати на питання.

(Продовження на стор. 2)

## Зоряна Попадюка засудили на 15 років ув'язнення і заслання

Згідно з одержаною з України вісткою, 4 березня 1983 р. в Актобінську в Казахстані відбувся суд над Зоряною Попадюкою. Його звинувачували в «антирадянській агітації і пропаганді» і засудили на 10 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.



Зоряна Попадюка, колишня студентка Львівського університету, нар. 21 січня 1953 р., був засуджений в 1973 р. у Львові на 7 р. ув'язнення і 5 р. заслання. Його звинувачували тоді у видаванні студентського

самвидавного журналу «Прогрес» і розповсюдженні українського самвидаву. У березні 1980 р. він був висланий на заслання в Казахстані, де важко хворів і де мав операцію легенів.

У січні того ж року у шведській газеті «Експресен» появилася велика стаття про нього, опрацьована відділом Міжнародної Амністії, який займався його обороною.

Після відбуття двох з половиною років заслання, Попадюка був заарештований у жовтні 1982 р. а згодом, після піврічного слідства і багатьох допитів його знайомих, засуджений на максимальний строк покарання.

Друзі й знайомі Зоряна Попадюка у Львові і Києві твердять, що Зоряна так важко хворів, що він не тільки не займався, але практично й не міг займатися будь-якою правозахисною діяльністю.

Суд над З. Попадюкою вважають на Україні, як спробу уряду Ю. Андропова, колишнього шефа КДБ, фізично розправитися з усіма колишніми українськими політв'язнями і особами, які в будь-який спосіб були причетні до українського правозахисного руху чи до ОУН-УПА.

Загроза буває тоді, коли суспільству загрожує насильний переворот екстремно-тоталітарних сил — комуністичних чи фашистських.

Цього літа, в 1983 році, ми зустрілися з загрозою демократії, праву розповсюдження інформації, яке є гарантоване Загальною Деклярацією Прав Людини і Гельсінкськими угодами у пресових центрах під час двох міжнародних спортивних змагань — на Універсіаді-83 (Едмонтон, Канада) і на Першому Світовому Чемпіонаті з легкої атлетики (Гельсінкі, Фінляндія).

Під час Універсіади-83 офіційна делегація СРСР на чолі з шефом радянської місії Ряшенцевим вдалась до безпрецедентного кроку. Вона використала форум приміщення Універсіади, яке було в розпорядженні Організаційного комітету, щоб скликати пресконференцію, на якій поставлено вимогу, щоб в пресцентрах не розповсюджувались інформації про українців у складі команди СРСР і про право України на незалежну участь в міжнародних спортивних змаганнях.

Шеф радянської місії опинився у дуже дивному становищі: діставши доручення з Москви (що згодом стало відомо в Едмонтоні від самих радянських представників), він склав заяву протесту на пресконференції 5 липня 1983 р., якої в СРСР жодна газета ані не надрукувала, ані не згадала про неї. З другого боку — Організаційний комітет Універсіади вирішив викреслити цю заяву з офіційної транскрипції пресконференції, як і питання, які ставив радянському представникові кореспондент «Смолоскипу». Вийшло так, що формально в Едмонтоні такої заяви М. Ряшенцева і питань кореспондента «Смолоскипу» взагалі не було. І якщо б не канадська преса, то про цю пресконференцію і про українську конфронтацію з росіянами ніхто не довідався б.

Це і є причиною, того що ми публікуємо у цьому числі нашого часопису транскрипцію тієї частини пресконференції, яка стосувалася українського питання, українською і англійською мовами.

(Продовження на стор. 4)



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## Наша присутність на міжнародних форумах

Літо 1983 року було багате на українську присутність на міжнародних і чужинецьких форумах. Ця наша присутність була черговим доказом нашої живучості, нашого розуміння важливості діяльності на цьому відтинку, що скріплює нашу національну питому вагу і що було, може, не плянованою, але справжньою відповіддю на посилені репресії і посилену русифікацію у нашій батьківщині та ізоляцію України від зовнішнього світу.

Цьогорічне відзначення Тижня Поневолених Націй у Вашингтоні (але чому ці відзначення лише у США?) набрало іншого і більш вагомого значення, як попередні. Це вперше на відзначенні такого роду виступали не лише американські законодавці, але й представники уряду США на чолі з президентом.

Під час Конгресу Світової Ради Церков також була відчутна українська присутність.

Цілковитий інший характер мали цьогорічні виступи групи «Смолоскипу» на Універсіаді-83, Світовому Конгресі Жінок за Мир і Свободу і на Першому Світовому Чемпіонаті легкої атлетики. На цих форумах дійшло до прямих ударів і конфронтації з офіційними представниками СРСР. Радянські представники не лише складали офіційні протести, не лише домагалися, щоб українська діяльність була припинена поліційними методами, але й самі безпосередньо пробували своїми атаками залякати членів української групи і їх дискредитувати. У жодному випадку їм це не вдалося, що примусило їх міняти свою тактику і ангажувати до протиукраїнських виступів чи то їхніх прихильників, чи навіть чужинецьких офіційних представників і звичайних бюрократів.

Внаслідок української присутності і діяльності — на різних форумах чужинецькі і міжнародні представники були примушені обговорювати українську справу, українську проблему і шукати відповідної розв'язки. І тут було по-різному: на Універсіаді-83 про українське питання заговорила канадська преса, яка дала всесторонню підтримку українцям. У Швеції під тиском opinіо великої кількості учасниць Світового Жіночого Конгресу, організатори мусіли поступитися і задовольнити, дослідно, всі українські вимоги. На цьому Конгресі, де було понад тисячу жінок з багатьох країн світу, напевно не було ані однієї людини, до якої не дійшла б українська справа.

В Гельсінкі були виступи на різних пресконференціях. Не зважаючи на заборони і конфіскацію, було розповсюджено багато українського інформаційного матеріалу. В обох спортивних випадках, дослівно кілька тисяч журналістів зі 160 країн світу, хотіли вони цього чи ні, мусіли зустрітися з українським питанням. Були й неприємні виступи чужинецьких офіційних представників, які порівнювали Україну з Баварією (!). Були спроби представників СРСР відтягнути українську увагу від них самих і втягнути українців у боротьбу з представниками західних країн, що їм абсолютно не вдалося.

На пресконференціях, на яких часто буває сотні журналістів, сам факт участі в них української інформаційної служби, стає незвичною подією, бо, звичайно, українців на таких форумах немає, і це стає для сотень представників світової преси новим відкриттям.

Влітку 1983 року ми, може вперше, вийшли на цілком інший міжнародний форум. Ми побачили важливість цього відтинку зовнішньої діяльності. Ми багато навчилися і з досвіду витягнули логічні і раціональні висновки, готуючись вже тепер до нових виступів на подібних і інших міжнародних форумах.

## Йосиф Тереля: я завжди прагнув до любови, до Бога

(Продовження зі стор. 1)

**Буткевич:** Ви ж на волі не будете говорити протилежне?

**Відповідь:** Борони Боже, я завжди буду перед вами винен, і дружина моя буде вас пам'ятати.

**Буткевич:** Ваша дружина робила все можливе, щоб перебільшити ваше становище. Вона підняла гвалт, що ми вас лікуємо. Ви вже майже рік не дістаете ліків. Ви про це їй говорили на побаченні?

**Бабенко:** Ми офіційно повідомили вашу дружину, що вас скоро випишуть.

**Відповідь:** Тоді пощо було мені вводити кофеїн з барбамілом, ми могли б поговорити і без цього.

**Буткевич:** Ми це робимо всім. Ви — не виняток. Але ось дивно: всі хворі говорять, що вони здорові, а ви говорите, що хворий.

**Відповідь:** Я говорю, що був хворий, а тепер, завдяки вам, моє здоров'я поправилось.

**Капустін:** Ні хера ви, Тереля, не хворий, і все прекрасно розумієте, але запам'ятати вам не пошкідить: більше на посилки і хорошу жратву вам не потрапити: поїдете туди ж, де ваш подільник Красівський — ви ж обидва симулянти.

**Відповідь:** Ви забули ще третього спільника — Юрія Белова.

**Капустін:** Белов — рецидивіст. І нам побажено, щоб ви не відповідали на його листи і не приймали від нього посилок.

**Відповідь:** Мені ніколи не говорять, від кого посилки і гроші, і я ніколи не розписуюсь: мені дають, а я їм.

**Капустін:** Вам посилка від Белова, а ви і відмовтесь.

**Бабенко:** Вибачте, тов. підполковник: посилки від Гривніної, а від Белова — книжки.

**Капустін:** А, ну з якої рації москвичі шлють вам посилки, гроші? Чому вони не шлють мені?

**Відповідь:** Я нікого не знаю з тих, хто шле мені посилки, але думаю, що вони всі хороші люди; якщо б вони знали, що вам потрібно, вони і вам помогли б.

**Бабенко:** Про це, що у вас добре підвищена мітла, ми знаємо. Не зубоскальте, коли вас питає начальник.

**Відповідь:** А я думав, що ви старші по званню.

**Буткевич:** Скажіть, Тереля, ви правильно робили, коли писали протест проти арешту М. Руденка?

**Відповідь:** Я не пам'ятаю, тому що був хворий.

**Буткевич:** Ну а тепер, як ви тепер розумієте свої дії?

**Відповідь:** Я чинив дуже зле. Більше цього не повториться.

**Буткевич:** Тереля, ви не були настільки хворі, щоб не розуміти того, що ви робили.

**Відповідь:** Неллі Михайлівна, але ж ви самі говорили, що я дуже хворий.

**Буткевич:** Значить, ви брешете, що все забули?

**Відповідь:** Не зовсім так. Деякі речі я пам'ятаю.

**Буткевич:** Що ви думаєте про ембарго на хліб, яке настав Картер?

**Відповідь:** Картера я не знаю.

**Буткевич:** Не будьте свинєю, Картер — це президент США.

**Відповідь:** Тим більше я з ним не знайомий. Я Брежнєва бачу лише на фотографіях, а Картера де я міг бачити?

**Буткевич:** Ви з дружиною на ім'я Картера писали заяву про еміграцію з причин політичних, економічних і релігійних. Ну і як, допоміг вам Картер?

**Відповідь:** Я не пам'ятаю про ті часи, коли я був хворий — тепер я ж не пишу.

**Буткевич:** Що ви завели: хворий, хворий... Відповідайте по суті справи. Ви хитруєте.

**Відповідь:** Але ж я дійсно не знаю Картера.

**Капустін:** Ну а якщо б з'явилась можливість поїхати до США, ви поїхали б?

**Відповідь:** У мене там дядько. Якщо б він нас запросив, що ж — ми поїхали б, подивилися, як їм там. Але жити там я не збираюся, мені не погано і на Закарпатті.

**Капустін:** Тереля, є рішення, що ви скоро будете на волі, але тільки після Олімпіади. Як ви на це дивитесь?

**Відповідь:** Нормально, ви лікували — я ж не в тюрмі, я в лікарні.

**Бабенко:** А ось В. Корчак говорить, що ми — кати і він в тюрмі.

**Відповідь:** Мене з Корчаком не зводять. А потім, у нього така думка, йому видніше.

**Бабенко:** Корчак говорить, що ми моримо українського поета у 21-й камері. Звідки йому відомо, що ви у 21-й?

**Відповідь:** Про це знає вся тюрма.

**Капустін:** Тереля, ви підтримуєте зв'язок зі свободою?

**Відповідь:** Я не в тюрмі. До мене постійно приїжджає дружина з дочкою Мар'яною.

**Капустін:** Я маю на увазі нелегальний зв'язок.

**Відповідь:** Але ж я не в підпіллі, я на волі, в республіканській лікарні — від кого мені ховатися?

**Капустін:** Ви у спецлікарні, де є свої обмеження. Ви не відповіли на моє питання.

**Буткевич:** Йосиф Михайлович не хоче видати свого родича, а жаль — у цьому нема нічого поганого, що він вам помагав.

**Бабенко:** Йосифе Михайловичу, ось сказали, що ви не політик, а християнин — що ви хотіли цим сказати?

**Відповідь:** Мене політика ніколи не цікавила, я завжди прагнув до любови, до Бога.

**Бабенко:** Але ж віра в Бога — це і є політика, капіталісти будують на цьому свою міжнародну політику, агресивну політику.

**Буткевич:** Віра в Бога — абсурд. А люди, які вірять — хворі. В науковій медичній літературі це називається масовою психозом.

**Відповідь:** Але ж християн більше мільярда.

**Буткевич:** Киньте рахувати. Християнство — це один з різновидів шизофренії.

**Відповідь:** Я про це не знав. Вірніше, ще ніде не читав.

**Буткевич:** Ви ж не читаете спеціальної літератури.

**Відповідь:** Дійсно, «спеціальної» літератури я не читаю (...)

**Бабенко:** Йосифе Михайловичу, а ви б тепер взяли і написали все, як розумієте, га?

**Капустін:** Він не напише, тому що все нам бреше.

**Відповідь:** Я погано знаю російську.

**Капустін:** Пишіть українською.

**Відповідь:** Боюсь, а то Неллі Михайлівна скаже, що у мене змі-

нився стан. Потім, я уже говорив, що я не політик.

**Буткевич:** Ви знаєте, що Плюш лежить в одній з канадських клінік, його лікують і там.

**Відповідь:** Я з Плюшем не знайомий. І про його хворобу нічого не знаю.

**Буткевич:** Ну а ваш друг Плахотнюк, він як — хворий чи ні?

**Відповідь:** Плахотнюк — лікар, йому видніше. Я його не бачив від 72-го року, тоді він був нормальний.

**Буткевич:** Але ж він більш від вас хворий.

**Відповідь:** Я не знаю.

**Капустін:** Та все він знає! Скажіть, краще, Йосифе Михайловичу, звідси можна втікти, чи ні?

**Відповідь:** Я цієї проблемою не займався.

**Капустін:** Ну а якщо б?...

**Відповідь:** Мене тепер це не цікавить, я тепер жонатий.

**Капустін:** У вас дев'ять втеч з тюрми і таборів. Невже ви не прикинули механічно — є шанси чи нема?

**Відповідь:** У зека завжди є шанси. Але у даному випадку я не зек.

**Капустін:** А все — можна втікти з «Дніпра», чи ні?

**Відповідь:** Коли я буду на становищі зека, тоді й поговоримо.

**Буткевич:** Він у нас хороший. Нічого зайвого.

**Бабенко:** Як ви дивитесь на введення наших військ в Афганістан?

**Відповідь:** Так, як і наші лікарі.

**Буткевич:** Не щипайте. Ви повинні відповідати на всі поставлені питання, це вирішить вашу долю.

**Відповідь:** Я думаю, що туди потрібно послати більше військ.

**Капустін:** Чому ви так думаєте?

**Відповідь:** В гірських місцевостях тяжче вести бої.

**Капустін:** Ми не ведемо воєнних дій. Ми тільки присутні.

**Відповідь:** Тоді це затягнеться надовго.

**Буткевич:** Що ви скажете про Сахарова?

**Відповідь:** Я особисто з ним не знайомий.

**Буткевич:** А ми знаємо протилежне. Ви знаєте, що Сахаров одержує гроші від ЦРУ і на ті гроші підтримує могутність нашої держави?

**Відповідь:** Про це мені нічого не відомо.

**Буткевич:** Але ви, особисто, вірите радянській пресі?

**Відповідь:** Певно що вірю, я ж не хворий.

**Буткевич:** Даремно ви щипаєте — але ж Сахаров ворог. І не думайте, що боїмося його послати туди ж, куди й вас, — просто влада чекає, що він кінець-кінцем опам'ятається.

**Відповідь:** Андрій Дмитрович — академік, він завжди думає, я ж закінчив всього 10 клас.

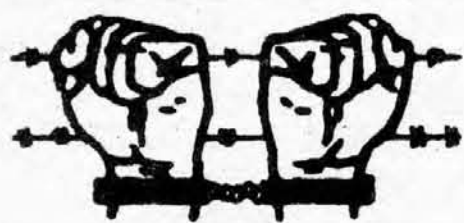
**Буткевич:** А ви знаєте, що більшість академіків — шизофреніки, але вони не порушують спокою наших громадян, тому й немає потреби їх примішувати у психіатричні лікарні?

**Відповідь:** Я цього не знав.

**Бабенко:** Тереля, ви заявили, що будете домагатися легалізації УКЦ. Як ви ставитесь до цього питання тепер?

(Закінчення в наступному числі)





# СТОРІНКА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНЯ

## ЗАСУДЖЕНІ В УКРАЇНІ

Нижчеподані особи засуджені у Україні в останніх місяцях за українську правозахисну або релігійну діяльність. У деяких випадках, щоб їх дискредитувати, вони були суджені за зфабрикованими кримінальними обвинуваченнями.

1. Балацький Анатолій М., нар. 1939 р., баптист, засуджений у квітні 1983 р. у Ворошиловграді на 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
2. Божок М., студент математичного факультету Ужгородського університету, свідок Єгови, був заарештований і засуджений 1981 р. в Ужгороді на 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
3. Германюк Степан Г., нар. 15 серпня 1934 р., баптист, колишній в'язень совісти (1973-1980), був заарештований 9 травня 1983 р. у Ворошиловграді, а згодом засуджений на 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
4. Ельберт Лев, нар. 30 вересня 1948 р., інженер, єврейський активіст, був засуджений 25 травня 1983 р. у Києві на 1 р. ув'язнення на спробу емігрувати з СРСР.
5. Кокуріна Валентина І., нар. 29 травня 1930 р., баптистка, була засуджена 27 травня 1983 р. у Ворошиловграді на 2,5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
6. Малиновський Микола О., нар. 1931 р., інженер, був засуджений 1981 р. у Чернігові на 3 р. ув'язнення за правозахисну діяльність.
7. Міщенко Володимир, з Дондабасу, був засуджений 26 березня 1983 р. у м. Советському Тюменської обл. на 1 р. ув'язнення за збирання підписів під петицією про ядерне роззброєння.
8. Панфілова Алевтина О., нар. 20 січня 1936 р., баптистка, засуджена 27 травня 1983 р. у Ворошиловграді на 2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
9. Попадюк Зорян, нар. 21 січня 1953 р., студент, колишній політв'язень (1973-1980) був засуджений в Актюбінську на 10 р. ув'язнення і 5 р. заслання за українську правозахисну діяльність.
10. Ритіков Павло Т., нар. 30 липня 1930 р., баптист, колишній в'язень сумління (1979-1982), був заарештований 2 квітня 1983 р. у Ворошиловграді, а згодом засуджений на 2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
11. Сашинс Павло В., баптист, був засуджений у квітні 1983 р. у Ворошиловграді на 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
12. Солтис Ігнатій, український католицький священник, керівник групи «покутників» з с. Васючин Івано-Франківської обл., був заарештований у 1980 р. і згодом засуджений на 5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
13. Тарнопольський Юрій, нар. 1937 р., хімік, єврейський активіст, був засуджений 30 червня 1983 р. у Харкові на 3 р. ув'язнення.
14. Тереля Йосиф, нар. 27 жовтня 1943 р., український правозахисний і релігійний діяч, колишній політв'язень (1962-1981), був засуджений 12 квітня 1983 р. на 1 р. ув'язнення.
15. Тягун Іван М., баптист з м. Кіровська Ворошиловградської обл., був засуджений у квітні 1983 р. на 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
16. Филиппин Віктор, нар. 17 березня 1939 р., баптист з м. Хотина Чернівецької обл., був заарештований 22 березня 1982 р. і згодом засуджений на 2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
17. Чагайда Борис, старшина спеціальних частин КДБ, український самостійник, убив трьох офіцерів і п'ять солдатів КДБ, перебував у Спеціальній психіатричній лікарні у Дніпропетровську. Докладніших даних про нього немає.
18. Шатравка Олександр І., нар. 6 жовтня 1950 р., колишній політв'язень (1974-1979, 1980, 1981) був засуджений 26 березня 1983 р. у с. Советському Тюменської обл. на 3 р. ув'язнення за збирання підписів під заклик у справі ядерного роззброєння СРСР і США.

## На Захід дійшов самвидавний твір «Крах»

(Продовження зі стор. 1)

коли вона приносить бажані наслідки, визнання. Однак, на жаль, нічого літературного праця не принесла в даний час авторів... Як говорив, здається, Моцарт, щоб написати твір, потрібно бути геніальним, а щоб опублікувати його потрібно бути тричі геніальним. Особливо це стосується авторів на Україні і автора цього роману після його конфлікту з властями. Великих душевних мук довелося зазнати авторів, коли писався роман, і не було одради його серцю ні від кого, хіба що від рідних та друга поета... Після напруженої роботи у видавництві... автора за його незалежні погляди піддано найбруднішому цькуванню з боку адміністрації. Це призвело до

звільнення з роботи, а згодом бандитський напад, зроблений на мене з участю одного з працівників МВС і нанесення мені важких травм, доповнили мої фізичні й духовні муки. Роман «Крах» — це саме відлуння, віддзеркалювання всіх тих душевних коливань і неблагонних страждань, які впали на долю автора у цій так званій насильницькій демократії. Здавалося, усі муки земні звалилися на його голову, щоб згубити його. Хто з читачів відчував щось подібне і хто зрозуміє нужденну авторську душу? Хто зрозуміє, як буває інколи важко авторів, як і орлові, знижуватись і сідати на землю. «Крах» це не тільки крах політики й щоденного життя,

ПАМ'ЯТАЙТЕ: ненаписаного листа адресат ніколи не одержить

## Привітайте українських політв'язнів у день їхнього народження

Нижче подасмо список українських політв'язнів, в'язнів сумління і засланих та адреси, на які слід надсилати привітання з-за кордону. Подасмо також їх дати народження, які припадають у жовтні, листопаді, грудні і січні.

Пропонуємо привітати їх листом, поштовою або телеграмою.

### У ЖОВТНІ:

- Малишев Леонід**  
нар. 25 жовтня 1928 р.: СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC
- Саранчук Петро С.**  
нар. 26 жовтня 1926 р.: СССР, 281200, УРСР, Хмельницька обл., м. Ізяслав, уст. МХ-324/58-2
- Тереля Йосиф**  
нар. 27 жовтня 1943 р. Писати на адресу дружини: Тереля Олена Т., СССР, 295212, УРСР, Закарпатська обл., Іршавський р-н, с. Довге, вул. І-го травня, 9.
- Чуйко Богдан**  
нар. 10 жовтня 1919 р.: СССР, Пермская обл., Чердынський р-н, пос. Чепец, учр. АМ-244/9-11

### У ЛИСТОПАДІ:

- Алтунян Генрах Ованесович**  
нар. 24 листопада 1933 р.: СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC
- Бердник Олесь Павлович**  
нар. 25 листопада 1927 р.: СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC
- Богар Іван Бийлович**  
нар. 24 листопада 1952 р. Писати на адресу дружини: Марія Августівна Богар, СССР, 295560, УРСР, Закарпатська обл., сел. Королеве, вул. Терек, 65
- Красівський Зіновій Михайлович**  
нар. 12 листопада 1929 р.: СССР, 626236, Тюменская обл., Ханты-Мансийский нац. округ, пос. Луговой, общежитие.
- Моша Віктор Кузьмич**  
нар. 9 листопада 1935 р. Писати на адресу дружини: Ніна М. Моша, СССР, УРСР, Херсонська обл., м. Дергачі, вул. Лермонтова, 1.
- Мурженко Олексій Григорович**  
нар. 23 листопада 1942 р.: СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC
- Хлівний Михайло Іванович**  
нар. 19 листопада 1921 р.: СССР, 678620, ЯАССР, Усть-Майський р-н, пос. Усть-Мая, ул. Октябрьская, 20, кв. 1.
- Шнирман Семен**  
нар. 8 листопада 1957 р. Писати на адресу матері: Шнирман Фаїна Г., СССР, УРСР, Кримська обл., м. Керч, вул. Кірова, 79, кв. 31

### У ГРУДНІ:

- Бабич Сергій Олексійович**  
нар. 13 грудня 1939 р.: СССР, 349018, УРСР, Ворошиловградська обл., Словоносербський р-н, сел. Лозовський, уст. УЛ-314/60
- почуттів і взаємовідносин героїв роману, а й крах самого автора, його здоров'я зруйнованого демагогією, насильством, знущаннями і цькуванням. Загалом «Крах» — це страшна трагедія людей і професії самого письменника в тоталітарно-режимній країні.

- Батурин Микола Георгійович**  
нар. 15 грудня 1927 р.: СССР, 652600, Кемеровская обл., г. Белово, учр. УН-1612/44 „Д”
- Приходько Григорій Андрійович**  
нар. 20 грудня 1937 р.: СССР, 422950, Татарская АССР, г. Чистополь, учр. УЭ-148/ст-4
- Руденко Микола Данилович**  
нар. 19 грудня 1920 р.: СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC
- Сверстюк Євген Олександрович**  
нар. 13 грудня 1927 р.: СССР, 671510, Бурятская АССР, п. Багдарин, ул. Жданова, 63, кв. 2
- Січко Василь Петрович**  
нар. 22 грудня 1956 р.: СССР, 257000, УРСР, м. Черкаси, уст. ЕЧ-325/62-52
- Чорновіл Вячеслав Максимович**  
нар. 24 грудня 1937 р.: СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЯД
- Шумук Данило Лаврентійович**  
нар. 30 грудня 1914 р.: СССР, КазССР, Уральська обл., Кара-тобинський р-н, с. Каратобе, ул. Курмангазы, Но. 1

### У СІЧНІ:

- Лебзак Олександр Вікторович**  
нар. 28 січня 1963 р. Писати на

адресу матері: Елла Я. Лебзак, СССР, 326680, УРСР, Херсонська обл., м. Берислав, вул. Колгоспна, 19

**Лесів Ярослав Васильович**  
нар. 3 січня 1943 р.: СССР, УРСР, м. Суходіл Ворошиловградської обл.: УЛ-314/36-2-29

**Маринюк Мирослав Франкович**  
нар. 4 січня 1949 р.: СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC

**Мешко Оксана Яківна**  
нар. 30 січня 1905 р.: СССР, 682080, Хабаровський край, Аяно-Майський р-н, с. Аян, ул. Вострєцова, 18

**Попадюк Зорян**  
нар. 21 січня 1953 р.: Писати на адресу матері: Людмила І. Попадюк, СССР, УРСР, Львів-7, вул. Я. Галана, 6, кв. 6а

**Попович Оксана**  
нар. 30 січня 1928 р.: СССР, Томская обл., Молчановський р-н, с. Молчаново, ул. Димитрова, 71, кв. 1

**Тихий Олексій Іванович**  
нар. 31 січня 1927 р.: СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC

**Стрільців Василь Степанович**  
нар. 13 січня 1929 р.: СССР, 315040, УРСР, Полтавська обл., п/о Божкове, уст. ПО-317/16-6-21

**Стус Василь Семенович**  
нар. 8 січня 1938 р.: СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC

## ПОЖЕРТВИ НА «СМОЛОСКИП»

Завдяки жертвенності української громади та постійній моральній і матеріальній підтримці, «Смолоскип» може продовжувати свою міжнародну, інформаційну, допомогову й видавничу діяльність.

Нижче подасмо список жертводавців, які зложили 50 дол. і більше на діяльність «Смолоскипу» у США і тих які свою пожертву прислали до США від 1 січня до 30 серпня 1983 р. Список ВСІХ жертводавців буде опублікований у окремій брошурі.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Зложили по:   | 88.50 дол.: Т. Зубрицький.  |
|   | 80.00 дол.: А. Якубович.  |
|   | 71.50 дол.: И. Жук.   |
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|   | Т. Цірик, Б. Турченко.  |
|   | 50.00 дол.: Архиепископ Марко (І. Гундяк), Анна і Василь Макухи, Іван і Інга Шморгун, І. Новак, д-р Л. Матович, Комітет Української Спільщини в Люїсвіль (Б. Гурко), Ада Кулик, М. Лукавський, О. Рудакевич, Ірина Михалевич-Ткаченко (з нагоди п'ятдесятиріччя подружнього життя батьків Ніни і проф. Михайла Михалевичів), Н. Бергеншток, П. Заплітний, Л. Лиман, В. Семеніна, С. Котляр, В. Воловодюк, Є. Рокіський, А. Долинський, М. Цар, д-р Я. Сидоряк, М. Байрак (Едмонтон), Г. Братків (Едмонтон). |
| 500.00 дол.: Марія Музичка (замість квітів на могилу свого сл. п. Брата Богдана Михайловича); Комітет Оборони Національних і Людських Прав в Україні (Відділ у Рочестері, голова — І. Демиденко); Рада КУК-у Провінції Альберти (голова — д-р М. Суховерський). |   |
| 250.00 дол.: інж. Степан Ільницький (Торонто).  |   |
| 228.50 дол.: Мирослав Бекіш.  |   |
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| 115.00 дол.: д-р М. Фішер-Слиж.   |   |
| 108.50 дол.: Лідія Флюнт, д-р П. Демус, А. Чорнобиль, В. Сосяк.   |   |
| 103.50 дол.: Н.Н.   |   |
| 100.00 дол.: С. Ривак, Філія УНО-Саскатун, Крамнічка «Сумління» (Чикаго), д-р А. Школьник, інж. В. Кунда, Я. Іванів, О. Віндик (три останні жертводавці — Едмонтон).  |   |

Всім Вельмишановним  
Жертводавцям — щира  
подяка!



## ЧИ ДЕМОКРАТІЯ І СВОБОДА ПІД ЗАГРОЗОЮ?

(Продовження зі стор. 1)

У Гельсінкі на Першому Світовому Чемпіонаті з легкоатлетики було дещо інакше: інформаційні матеріали «Смолоскипу» були заборонені у пресовому центрі і їх, на вимогу делегації СРСР, конфіскували упорядники, які були поставлені біля кожного стенду зі спортовими матеріалами Чемпіонату. Ба більше — дві брошури «Українські олімпійські чемпіони», які були видані ще в 1972 р. і подаровані бібліотеці у спортивному центрі, що з подякою прийняла бібліотекарка, після трьох днів, були заборонені і з бібліотеки усунені (!!!). Навіть, як довідник для журналістів, базований виключно на інформації з СРСР, ця книжка була заборонена і конфіскована.

Виринає питання, які матеріали розповсюджував «Смолоскип» на Універсіаді-83 і на Світовому Чемпіонаті?

Чи у цих матеріалах хтось закликав до революції в СРСР? До війни з СРСР? Чи хтось закликав до тероризму? Насильства? Вбивств? Чи «Смолоскип» поширював брехню про когось чи проти когось? Чи ображав когось?

Абсолютно ні. Нічого подібного не було.

До інформації про українців у складі команди СРСР і про чемпіонів України були додані відповідні коментарі (повний текст публікується в англійській частині цього числа «Смолоскипу»).

Виринає далі питання: чи списки спортивних чемпіонів і коментарі про право України брати окрему участь в міжнародних спортивних змаганнях є брехнею?

Невже офіційні керівники міжнародного спорту не знають, яка затьмарена була боротьба багатьох народів за право брати самостійну участь в Олімпійських Іграх і в інших міжнародних спортивних змаганнях? Невже вони не читали спогадів основоположника Олімпійського руху П'єра де Кубертена про боротьбу Фінляндії, Мадярщини і Чехії (Богемії) ще перед I-ю Світовою війною за таке право? І основоположник олімпійського руху П'єр де Кубертен дав повну підтримку цим законним домаганням. Таке саме право, згідно зі статутами МОК і всіх міжнародних спортивних федерацій, мають члени ООН Україна і Білорусія, а також країни Прибалтики. Справа України і цих країн, окупованих СРСР, не є внутрішньою справою СРСР.

Чи є злочином, чи чимось нелегальним, розповсюджувати правдиву і об'єктивну інформацію про спортсменів, коли такої інформації офіційні представники СРСР чомусь не дають?

Чи було б чимось нелегальним, коли б наприклад, хтось

в Канаді склав список спортсменів цієї багатокультурної країни за їхнім національним походженням і розповсюджував? Чи хтось проти цього протестував би? Напевно, ні.

Коли Південна Африка практикувала політику апартеїду, цебто расової сегрегації, то її вилімінувано з усіх міжнародних спортивних змагань. Але коли в СРСР провадять політику національної дискримінації, коли народам — історично, традиційно, культурно і мовно цілком окремим і різним, влада СРСР забороняє на самостійне представництво в міжнародних спортивних змаганнях, то це деякі (на щастя лише деякі) офіційні представ-

ники міжнародного спорту (а в тому і США) стараються закрити, зняти з порядку денного, про це радше не говорити.

Навіть шеф радянської місії на Універсіаді М. Ряшенцев у цьому відношенні плутався: з одного боку намагався довести, що і Україна і зокрема Естонія мають теж міжнародні спортивні зв'язки (цебто мають право на такі зв'язки), а з другого боку намагався довести, що і Україна і Естонія права на такі зв'язки не мають (бо це, мовляв «внутрішня справа СРСР»).

Виринає питання: де ми живемо і в який час живемо? Невже ми живемо на Заході (так

на Заході!) в час жайхит Гітлера і Сталіна, коли за кожне вільне слово за свою власну думку, людей на довгі роки ув'язнювали?

Чи хтось колись протестував, коли Пуерто Ріко хотіло бути репрезентованим у міжнародному спорті окремо від США? Напевно ніхто. Напевно і не обурювався Олімпійський Комітет США, МОК і міжнародні спортивні федерації.

То чому такий крик, чому погрози позбавити українського кореспондента пресової акредитації і членства в АІПС (Міжнародній Асоціації Спортивної Преси), коли він про це говорить і пише?

Чому такий подвійний стандарт?

Перед керівниками міжнародного спорту стоїть зараз основне питання: чи пресові центри на міжнародних спортивних змаганнях будуть справжніми центрами вільної преси, поширення правдивої і об'єктивної інформації про ті питання, які мають пряме відношення до спорту. Чи під тиском влади СРСР і її шантажем, ті центри будуть обмежувати, цензурувати і забороняти поширення такої інформації, що є проти принципів Загальної Деклярації Прав Людини і Гельсінкських угод, буде антидемократичним потягненням, яке всьому світові нагадуватиме найтемніші сторінки історії людства, що до сьогодні практикують всі тоталітарні режими — крайнє ліві і крайнє праві?

Осип Зінкевич

## Українсько-російська конфронтація на Універсіаді '83

5 липня 1983 р. в готелю Едмонтон Іни відбулася пресконференція, яку скликала делегація СРСР на Універсіаді-83. На цій пресконференції шеф радянської місії, відомий партійний діяч у спорті СРСР М. Ряшенцев виступив проти діяльності «Смолоскипу» на Універсіаді, після чого дійшло до удару між представником «Смолоскипу» О. Зінкевичем і ним та іншим радянським представником Л. Драчевським. Про цю пресконференцію і про питання участі України в міжнародних спортивних змаганнях широко коментувала канадська преса. Нижче подаємо транскрипцію тієї частини цієї пресконференції, яка відноситься до українського питання.

**М. Ряшенцев:** ...Ми постійно чуємо велике зацікавлення з боку засобів масової інформації, зокрема кореспондентів радіо, преси, газет і журналів. І ми завжди готові відповісти на всі питання, які стосуються Універсіади, у яких є справжнє зацікавлення радянським спортом, радянськими спортсменами, студентами-спортсменами, і в міру наших спроможностей ми завжди готові задовольнити ці законні інтереси представників преси. Але нам незрозумілі спроби деяких господ (це слово не перекладаємо на укр. мову — Ред.) і організацій, які через службу преси, через пресслужбу Універсіади хочуть повчати радянську делегацію про те, як їй організувати змагання в Радянському Союзі і якими командами радянські спортсмени повинні брати участь в змаганнях. Це нам не зрозуміло. Ми вважаємо, що такі повчання не повинні скеровуватися на нашу адресу і розповсюджуватися через пресслужбу Універсіади. Зокрема я хотів би покласти на один приклад, на пресреліс пресцентру, який був випущений від імені організації Смо... Смо... (він витягає пресове повідомлення «Смолоскипу», підносить догори, а тоді ніби пробує і не може прочитати по англійськи і передає його перекладачеві).

**Перекладач:** Інформаційна Служба Смолоскип.

**М. Ряшенцев:** Да. Ці господа, ця організація хоче нас вчити, яку команду ми маємо вислати на Олімпійські Ігри... (сильно знервовано) ...на Універсіади. Ці господа використовують засоби масової інформації Універсіади. Вони розповсюдили в усіх пресцентрах цей свій пресреліс. Цей Смо... Смо... (знову передає перекладачеві) ...

**Перекладач:** Інформаційна Служба Смолоскип.

**М. Ряшенцев:** Вони хочуть нас вчити, щоб ми створили українську команду складену лише з українців. Лише з українців. А на Україні живуть не лише українці. Там живуть також росіяни, євреї й інші національності... Справа України є внутрішньою справою СРСР. Нашою внутрішньою справою, і ми не допустимо, щоб якісь господа з якихось Смо... Смо... (знову передає пресове повідомлення перекладачеві).

**Перекладач:** Інформаційна Служба Смолоскип (на залі шум і сміх).

**М. Ряшенцев:** Україна теж має свої міжнародні спортивні зв'язки... Але ми не допустимо, щоб якісь господа нас вчили, як нам вести наші спортивні справи. Ми не можемо допустити, щоб ось такі пресреліси були розповсюджені в пресцентрах Універсіади, щоб ці господа для якихось нам неясних цілей, використовували засоби масової інформації... Ми готові відповісти на ваші питання.

Перший до слова голоситься О. Зінкевич, представник «Смолоскипу». Е. Міллер дає йому слово.

**О. Зінкевич:** Я маю два дуже основні питання у справі права на участь в Універсіадах. Я маю одне питання до голови радянської делегації, а друге до пана Драчевського, віцепрезидента ФІСУ — як ви поясните, що Пуерто Ріко, територія Сполучених Штатів Америки, бере участь тут своєю окремою національною командою, а дві країни, самостійні згідно з їхніми конституціями, члени Об'єднаних Націй, ЮНЕСКО і багатьох міжнародних організацій — Україна і Білорусія не беруть участі у цій Універсіаді. Естонія, яка брала участь у перших міжнародних університетських іграх ще в 1924 році, тут теж не є заступлена. Я знаю, про що ви тут говорите — про спортсменів, які включені в радянську команду. Я не ставлю

такого питання. Моє питання є: чому Україна і Білорусія не беруть участь у цих іграх. Моє друге питання до пана віцепрезидента таке: чи згідно зі статутами ФІСУ Україна і Білорусія, члени Об'єднаних Націй, мають право брати участь в Універсіадах, чи такого права не мають?

**М. Ряшенцев:** Я не знаю, але може не цілком чітко був зроблений переклад моєї заяви, або може господа не дочув відповіді на те питання, яке він мені ставить. Я ще раз говорю про справу права... кожна країна, кожна держава визначає свою участь в Олімпійських Іграх. У нас у Радянському Союзі є Національний Олімпійський Комітет СРСР. Він формує команду з усіх радянських спортсменів, включаючи не лише Естонію, Білорусію і Україну, але й Узбекістан, і Грузію, і Вірменію, і Латвію, і Молдавію і т.д. і т.п. Нас мало цікавить у даному випадку справа Пуерто Ріко і Сполучених Штатів Америки і як їм виступати. Може бути так, що Сполучені Штати завтра виставлять 49 команд. Це не має жодного відношення до структури Об'єднаних Націй, якщо у них є Олімпійські комітети... у тих штатах. Оскільки мені відомо, їх немає. У нас Олімпійський комітетів в Киргизії і в Естонії також немає. У нас є один Олімпійський комітет СРСР, він формує збірну команду Радянського Союзу. Спортсмен кожної республіки вважає для себе великою честю бути включеним у ту команду і під прапором Радянського Союзу виступати на Олімпійських Іграх. Це наше право. Ми вважаємо, що так потрібно і ми так будемо робити.

(Після спотвореного перекладу на англійську мову, він продовжував):

Я хочу до цього додати. Коли господа задала тут Естонію, цебто Естонську Радянську Соціалістичну Республіку, то я хочу сказати, що саме ця республіка має досить великі міжнародні зв'язки, зокрема з сусідньою Фінляндією. Якщо тут є господа, які представляють фінські засоби інформації, то вони добре знають і я це добре знаю, бо я займаюся цими питаннями, що кожного року спортивні організації Естонії і Фінляндії укладають двосторонній договір у справі обміну спортивними делегаціями і це успішно роблять.

Л. Драчевський: Мені приємно, що протягом цих кількох днів, коли я знаходжуся в ролі віцепрезидента ФІСУ, моя перша заява для преси починається від вивчення правил ФІСУ. Я ризикую, але я поспробую це вивчити. ФІСУ об'єднує національні студентські організації і кожна студентська спортивна організація висилає свої делегації на Універсіади. У нас є одна, в Радянському Союзі, спортивна організація «Буревісник», якої я є віцепрезидентом. Національна спортивна організація Сполучених Штатів висилає сюди свою команду і т.д., і т.п. І я думаю, що питання не має підстави, якщо є така домовленість. Ну, а якщо в Пуерто Ріко є своя самостійна національна студентська організація, то це їхня справа. Ми у нас так вирішили і в такий спосіб вирішили діяти. Не бачу, в чому питання. Не зайшли в той бік... ОК?

**О. Зінкевич:** Ні, не ОК. Це не було моє питання. Скажіть мені: так чи ні? Чи Україна має право брати участь в Універсіадах? (радянські делегати і журналісти починають шуміти і кричати, на залі посилюється шум). Скажіть так чи ні?

**Л. Драчевський** (на залі шум): Це справа національного Олімпійського комітету, національної спортивної організації...

**Е. Міллер** (керівник пресконференції з рамени ФІСУ перериває Л. Драчевського і звертається до О. Зінкевича): Вибачте мені, я думаю, що через обмеження часу, якщо ви бажаєте ставити ім питання прямо і вести боротьбу з ними, то зробіть це згодом (радянська делегація аплодує). Чи є ще якісь питання до шефа місії (СРСР)?

Після цього на пресконференції виступили російський гімнаст Ю. Корольов і український олімпійський чемпіон у плаванні С. Фесенко, яким на прохання керівника пресконференції Е. Міллера, журналісти ставили питання суто спортивного характеру.



# SMOLOSKYP

Volume 5, Number 18 A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE WINTER 1983

## Eight Human Rights Activists Nominated for Nobel Peace Prize

On January 31, 1983, the congressional members of the U.S. Helsinki Commission announced their nomination of eight members of the Helsinki human rights movement for the 1983 Nobel Peace Prize: Yuri Orlov, Anatoly Shcharansky, Mykola Rudenko, Viktoras Petkus, Vaclav Havel, Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik and Lech Walesa.



Yuri Orlov

At a time when world public opinion is focused on the dangers to our planet posed by nuclear arms, the nomination of the Eastern European human rights activists serves as a reminder that one of the strongest deterrents to nuclear war is the force of public opinion. Over three-quarters of one million people gathered in New York's Central Park last year to voice their opposition to an escalating arms race. The impressive gathering forced government leaders in Washington to come to grips with massive public concern over the menace of nuclear weapons. Such a gathering, however, is impossible in any of the cities of Eastern Europe. The efforts of the Nobel Peace Prize nominees are aimed at securing the elementary right to a freely organized gathering at all and the right to express an opinion that is not necessarily sanctioned by the government.

As the Helsinki Commission letter of nomination notes, the nominees represent others who could serve to humanize dangerously centralized governments if only their views could be heard. For that reason, they are repressed. The full text of the nominating letter to the Nobel Institute is printed below.

As initiators of the international citizens Helsinki human rights movement, Yuri Orlov, Anatoly Shcharansky, Mykola Rudenko, Viktoras Petkus, Vaclav Havel, Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik and Lech Walesa, at great personal sacrifice, serve the cause of world peace and decency. Their peaceful public activity and steadfast dedication to humanitarian goals have earned them the special acknowledgement which only the Nobel Institute can bestow. As participants in the international Helsinki movement and as the Congressional members of the United States Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, it is a special honor to nominate these eight men for the 1983 Nobel Peace Prize.

The courageous work of citizens' groups in the Soviet Union, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia and Poland in promoting the human rights principles of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act epitomizes an insight of 1974 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Andrei Sakharov: "The defense of human rights is a clear path towards the unification of people in our turbulent world and a path towards the relief of suffering." By acting on this concept of peace through individual rights and by persevering despite official persecution, these citizens' groups have publicized violations of such Helsinki human rights provisions as economic, political, national and religious rights and freedom of movement for people and ideas.

Under the leadership of Professor Yuri Orlov — with the energetic advocacy of Anatoly Shcharansky — the first group to monitor the Soviet Helsinki human rights record was organized in May 1976 in Moscow. Although forced by relentless government repression to call a halt to its peaceful public work on September 8, 1982, the moral influence

of the Moscow Helsinki Group continues unabated. Indeed, inspired by the Moscow Helsinki Group, similar groups were organized in Ukraine (led by poet



Mykola Rudenko

Mykola Rudenko), Lithuania (with a leading role played by literary historian Viktoras Petkus), Georgia and Armenia; allied groups were formed to advocate the rights of believers, psychiatric prisoners and the handicapped.



Lech Walesa

Tragically, the only discernible official Soviet response to this peaceful public effort has been repression: ten in the Moscow Helsinki Group are serving a total of 97 years of imprisonment; 31 in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were sentenced to a total of 222 years; five in the Lithuanian Helsinki Group are serving a total of 32 years; two in the Georgian and Armenian Helsinki Groups are serving a total of 17 years.

(Continued on pg. 4)

## Air Pollution in Ukraine

A subject of wide concern for several years now among Western populations, governments and media, environmental pollution has been totally ignored in the U.S.S.R. Recent reports reaching the West indicate, however, that this silence is not due to the lack of a pollution problem in the Soviet Union. In fact — as is revealed in an article by engineer S. Yu. Prociuk, environmental pollution has reached catastrophic dimensions in the Soviet Union, especially Ukraine.

In this article, which is reprinted below, engineer Prociuk points out that Ukraine has borne the brunt of the problem not only because the Soviets have been disproportionately exploiting its industrial potential to provide for the rest of the Union, but also because Ukraine's Western neighbors have been "exporting" their pollution. Given the Soviet authorities' failure to address this problem — whether due to the country's critical economic situation or simple neglect, together with the impossibility of a concerted public outcry (as the West experienced), the effects on natural resources and the health of the population are bound to be devastating.

The pollution of air and water in Ukraine has reached such a level that it is a problem even to maintain it at that level, much less to abate it. Soviet scholars write that, although during the tenth five-year period over 200 million

rubles were spent for the protection of the environment, only an insignificant lessening of pollution by ashes, soot and nitrogen compounds was achieved. Even large (though delayed) capital expenditures for purifying equipment were

(Continued on pg. 4)

## Soviet Peace Group Plea Reaches West

### ADDRESS TO PEACE SUPPORTERS

The Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., an unofficial Soviet citizens' committee promoting peace and disarmament, has continued its work, despite government repression and harassment. Printed below is the original English-language text of an appeal from the group, which recently reached the West. This open letter first appeared in a *samizdat* bulletin, published in Moscow by S.M.O.T., the unofficial trade union organization.

Today, when 25 million people are wearing military uniforms, and when stocks of nuclear arms can turn the world into radioactive ruins, no one can hope that the world will survive by itself, or through someone else's efforts. Nuclear arms have made every living being into a hostage of the relations between East and West. The two opposing camps have a lot of suspicions and in-

comprehension towards each other and it leads to a very ominous character of the interdependence of the two sides.

Everyone shares responsibility. Neither geographical borders nor political contradictions can be a handicap in realizing this responsibility.

On the first of January 1983 at 15:00 GMT we propose holding TEN MINUTES of silence, prayer and univer-

sal reflection on peace, disarmament and removal of mistrust among nations.

We call for:

— everyone to break routine daily activities for ten minutes, to devote these minutes to reflection on peace

— all the sides in all military clashes and conflicts to stop their military actions by announcing de facto cease-fire for at least ten minutes.

— everyone who is taking part in violence to give up at least ten minutes.

Ten minutes is little. But ten minutes of universal reflection on peace is ten minutes of solid peace which can turn into a destructive handful of sand thrown into the machinery of war.

We appeal for ten minutes of stable peace.

Moscow, U.S.S.R.

October 16, 1982

The Group to Establish Trust  
Between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

Signed:

Sergei BATOVIRIN  
Maria FLEISHGAKKER  
Vladimir FLEISHGAKKER  
Igor SOBKOV  
Gennady KROCHIK  
Viktor BLOK  
Yury KHONOPULO  
Sergei ROSENOER  
Boris KALYUZHNYY  
Yury MEDVEDKOV  
Olga MEDVEDKOVA  
Valery GODYAK  
Vladimir BRODSKY  
Oleg RADZINSKY  
Mark REITMAN



# SMOLOSKYP

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We welcome the submission of articles, photographs and graphic art on human rights, particularly those dealing with Ukraine, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

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## Why Soviets Repress Their Peace Groups

The nuclear freeze movement in the West is a genuine grass roots movement with a broad base of public support. Spawned by fears of nuclear catastrophe and concern over enormous expenditures on weapons during a time of particular economic hardship, the movement in Western Europe and the United States has attracted millions of active participants. Sensitive to charges that their own citizens have not demonstrated a similar commitment to peace, Soviet authorities have organized official peace groups who have met with their Western counterparts in carefully monitored settings. Any spontaneous, unofficial organization committed to peace, however, is quickly liquidated.

The U.S. Helsinki Commission recently reported on the repression of the Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. The Group was headquartered in Moscow with affiliated groups in Leningrad, the Ukrainian city of Odessa and the Siberian city of Novosibirsk. Operating out of the homes of a handful of members, the Group sought to encourage a dialogue between the Soviet and American governments and the citizens of the two countries on the issue of disarmament. To further that goal, the Group proposed the establishment of student exchange programs, pen-pal links and teach-ins.

Soviet authorities dealt with the Group, To Establish Trust in the same way they have dealt with other unofficial citizens' groups that were dedicated to human rights, national and cultural self-expression or free emigration. Members of the peace organization were called in to police stations where they were warned that their activities were "provocative, anti-social and illegal." The peace activists were placed under house arrest and their phones were disconnected. A leader of the Group, Sergei Batovrin, was placed in a psychiatric prison for a month last August. He was released on September 7, 1982, following protests by leading American peace activists. However, another Group member, Oleg Radzinsky, was arrested on October 26, 1982, on the catch-all charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

For those familiar with the Soviet system, it is clear that the issue is not peace or nuclear freeze, but the right to free assembly and the right to organize. Most of the proposals of the Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. can be readily found in the rhetoric of Soviet officials and their publications. What is impermissible as far as Soviet authorities are concerned is the demonstration of personal initiative, the fact that a group of citizens might organize any group whatsoever without government approval and supervision. As far as the Kremlin is concerned, continued existence of the Group would establish an unwelcome precedent constituting a crack in the government monopoly on opinion and political activity. For that reason, the Group was terrorized, and it can be said with certainty that no similar peace group will be allowed to exist as long as Soviet authorities remain in charge.

## Soviet Savagery in a Civilized World

Once again, news has come to the West of Soviet atrocities that are no longer practiced anywhere in countries with which the Soviets strive and pretend to be on a par. Sometime late last year, the Soviet penal system sentenced to death and executed five Ukrainians for their participation in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. This event would be macabre enough considering that the "crimes" of these men consisted of fighting for a free Ukraine against both Soviet and Nazi German invading armies during World War II. But what makes this event totally unjustifiable is that these men, as well as five others who met the same fate in early 1982, had already been punished once for the "crime" of wanting to rid their homeland of foreign invaders — they had all served lengthy sentences in the post-war camps and prisons of the Soviet Union. In the U.S., being sentenced more than once on the same charge is called double jeopardy, and is forbidden by the Constitution. Every other constitutional country of the Free World has a similar prohibition. But to the Soviets this is a routine judicial occurrence.

Why the Soviets go to such lengths is, however, all too clear. Despite their attempts at silencing dissent, they have not yet won. Even long and severe prison sentences have not deterred new fighters for human rights from joining the ranks. It is no wonder, then, that the execution of the five men was reported in a one-page article in *Literaturna Ukrayina* (Literary Ukraine). This journal, published by the Writers' Union of Ukraine, does not normally deal with such matters — it is aimed at the specialized interests of writers. Apparently, the Soviets wanted to make sure that all Ukrainian writers (many of whom are active dissidents) were aware (and

## FIVE UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS EXECUTED

For the second time in one year, the Soviet authorities executed yet another five Ukrainians, all members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after World War II, almost forty years after their participation in these groups which resisted Nazi and Soviet occupation of Ukraine. Further information on these five individuals is given below.

1. *Ohorodnychuk (Kvyatkowsky), Mykola H.* sentenced to death in Fall 1982 in Ivanychy, Volyn Region, for his participation in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after World War II.

2. *Shpachuk, Petro P.* Sentenced to death in Fall 1982 in Ivanychy, Volyn Region, for his participation in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after World War II.

3. *Stasiv, V. Yu.* Sentenced to death in Fall 1982 in Ivanychy, Volyn Region, for his participation in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after World War II.

4. *Ostrovsky, Yakiv.* Former soldier in the Red Army; served many years of imprisonment in Soviet labor camps; lived in Krasnoyarsk Territory after his release; sentenced in Fall 1982 in Vyshnivets, Ternopil Region, for his participation in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after World War II.

5. *Sotsky, Yefimiy;* served many years of imprisonment in Soviet labor camps; sentenced to death in Fall 1982 in Vyshnivets, Ternopil Region, for his participation in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after World War II.

## Borys Terelya Killed by KGB

Terelya, Borys. Belated news has reached the West about the death of Borys Terelya, brother of the well-known long-time Ukrainian political prisoner Yosyp Terelya. He died during a fight with a group of KGB agents and militia. All that is known about the fight is that Terelya was shot at dawn on June 10, 1982, near the small village of Polyana, close to Svalyava, Transcarpathian Region. It is not known whether anyone from the penal organs was killed, but searches were conducted in the entire region, especially in the mountains, for accomplices of Terelya.

According to information, Borys Terelya had lived illegally for a long time, hiding in the mountains. His going underground was clearly motivated by political reasons.

Information has also been received that in the Summer of 1982 there were armed incidents involving unknown persons and the militia on construction sites of the new gas pipeline from Urengoy to Uzhhorod and Western Europe. Several persons were reported killed, but it is not known if the Terelya killing was connected with this incident.

## For Ukrainian-Jewish Cooperation

By Jakov Suslensky

On September 17, 1982, an initiative meeting of Ukrainian and Jewish activists took place in New York, which culminated in the formal creation of the North American Society for Ukrainian-Jewish Cooperation.

A number of developments led up to this event. In 1979 the Committee for Jewish-Ukrainian Cooperation was formed in Jerusalem. In January 1981 the Society for Jewish-Ukrainian Contacts was founded in Israel. During 1981 and 1982 members of the Society, in articles in the press and through numerous personal appearances, conducted a wide campaign aimed at educating Jews and Ukrainians in North America on the goals and benefits of cooperation between the two peoples. Personal appearances by Jakov Suslensky and Israel Kleiner before community gatherings of Ukrainians in a number of North American cities led to the creation of local committees for Jewish-Ukrainian cooperation. On September 21, 1982, a conference on Jewish-Ukrainian relations was held in Washington, D.C., sponsored by Congressman Benjamin Gilman. Six congressmen and four speakers each from the Ukrainian and Jewish sides took part in the proceedings.

The North American Society for Ukrainian-Jewish Cooperation has set for itself the goal of building better relations between the two peoples by promoting mutual understanding and multilateral cooperation.

The New York meeting elected a board of directors of the Society, consisting of eight Ukrainian and nine Jewish representatives. The Rev. Jaroslav Svvshchuk was elected chairman, while Adam Simms, Myron Kuropas and Eugene Stakhiv became vice-chairmen. Three members of the Society for Jewish-Ukrainian Contacts in Israel attended the New York meeting as guests.

Worth noting is the especially active participation of representatives of the most recent wave of Jewish emigrants from the U.S.S.R. This is understandable: who better than they knows the present situation in Ukraine?

The following representatives of the Jewish community were elected to the board or the auditing committee: Mark Popovsky, Isaac Karat, Dr. Alexander Maksudov, Dr. Leonid Tarasiuk, Dr. Yan Borodovsky, Dr. Solomon Hertz, Allan Kadzhevan, Israel Shmucler, Yan Golubev and Adam Simms.

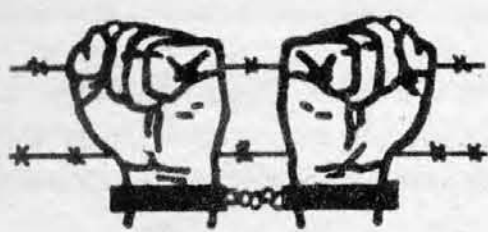
The board of directors, during its one-year term, will concentrate mainly on a) building up a mass organization of representatives of both peoples; b) completing work on the Society's basic documents — the Declaration, the Statutes and the Program; c) organizing a convention of delegates of the Society's chapters and leaders of the Ukrainian and Jewish communities in the United States and Canada, with the mass media in attendance.

Let us wish the new Society every success in its noble task of bringing two peoples closer together!

thus intimidated) that executions and double sentencing for one "crime" are commonplace in the Soviet legal system.

The Soviet authorities seem to have set no limits on the measures to which they will stoop to crush the fight for individual, national and religious freedoms. But considering the brutal measures that up to now have not been successful, this latest ruse will also fail.



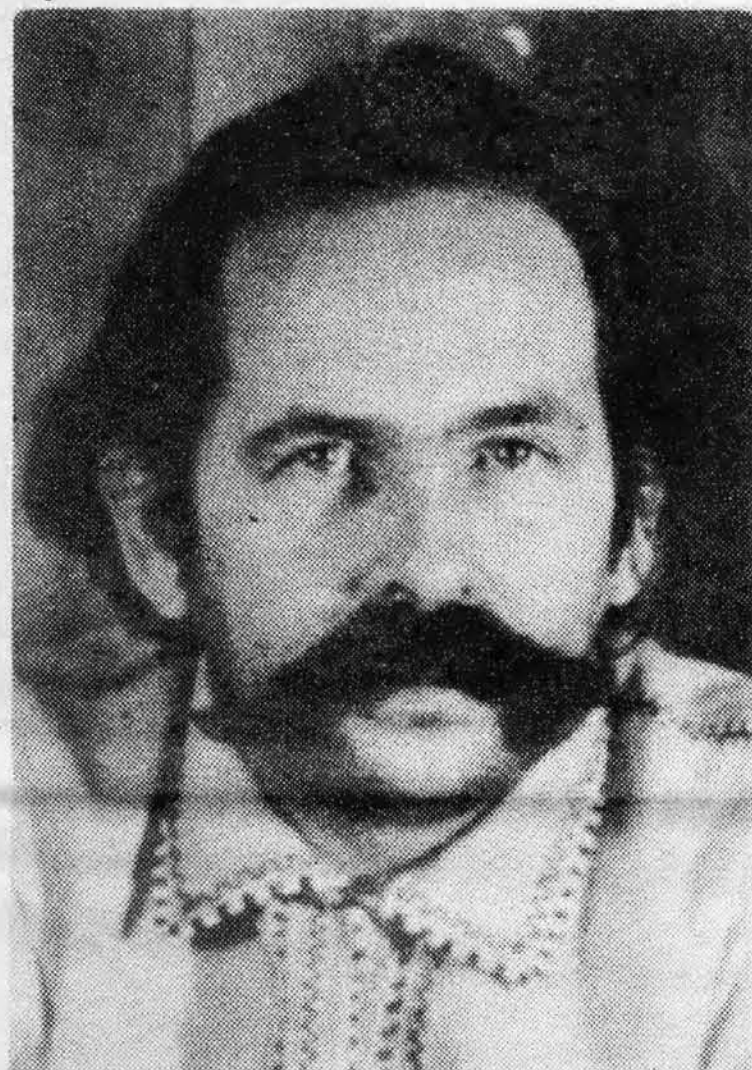


# POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

## UKRAINE

### Sentenced:

1. Akhterov, Filip. Born 1961; Pentecostalist; former prisoner of conscience; sentenced in Donetsk to 3 years' imprisonment for refusing to serve in the Army.
2. Antonyuk, Zinovy P. Born July 24, 1933; engineer; former Ukrainian political prisoner (1972-1981); sentenced October 25, 1982, in Kiev, to 1 year of labor camp.
3. Antonov, Ivan Ya. Born August 19, 1919; Baptist; sentenced November 13, 1982, in Kirovohrad, to 5 years' labor camp.
4. Butov, Petro. Born April 30, 1952; physicist; sentenced August 27, 1982, in Odessa, to 5 years' labor camp and 2 years' internal exile for samizdat activity.



Yevhen Holstein

5. Holstein, Yevhen. Born April 1940; art collector; sentenced in Fall 1982 in Odessa to 7 years' labor camp.
6. Kabysh, Maya M. Born May 1, 1953; Baptist; sentenced in Summer 1982 in Znamenka, Kirovohrad Region, to 3 years' labor camp.
7. Lyashchenko, Borys. Born April 6, 1959; Baptist; sentenced in Zaporizhzhya to 2 years, 8 months of labor camp.
8. Maksymiv Halyna. Born September 11, 1932; sentenced in May 1982 in Uzhhorod to 1 year of labor camp for attempting to emigrate from the U.S.S.R.
9. Maksymiv, Oleksander. Born November 27, 1959; sentenced in May 1982 in Uzhhorod to 1-1½ years' labor camp for attempting to emigrate from the U.S.S.R.
10. Malyshev, Leonid. Born October 25, 1928; engineer; human rights activist; sentenced December 8, 1981, in Cherkasy, to 5 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile.
11. Marchenko, Stanislav P. Born 1960; Baptist; sentenced in Zaporizhzhya to 2 years' labor camp.
12. Monblanov, Viktor V. Born April 18, 1940; human rights activist; former political prisoner (1978-1981); sentenced in Kiev to 5 years' labor camp.
13. Oliynyk Petro I. Born April 10, 1932; Baptist; sentenced in Lviv to 5 years' labor camp.
14. Piryh, Vasyi. Pentecostalist; sentenced November 5, 1982, in Uzhhorod, to 5 years' labor camp and 2 years' internal exile.

The individuals listed below were arrested or sentenced in the past few months for their activities in defense of human, national or religious rights in the U.S.S.R. Some were sentenced on fabricated criminal charges in an attempt to discredit them.

15. Tymchuk, Volodymyr. Born 1959; Baptist; sentenced in Fall 1982 in Makiyivka, Donetsk Region, to 3.5 years' labor camp.

16. Shkiryavy, Bohdan V. Born April 5, 1932; Baptist; sentenced in Dnipropetrovsk to 2.5 years' labor camp.

17. Shylyuk, Vasyi S. Born 1940; Pentecostalist; sentenced January 4, 1983, in Rovno, to 3 years' labor camp.

### Arrested:

1. Ahlyshev, Valentyn Y. Born 1948; Baptist; arrested October 13, 1982, in Crimea Region.

2. Derkach, Pavlo V. Born 1931; Baptist; arrested in August 1982 in Mykolayiv.

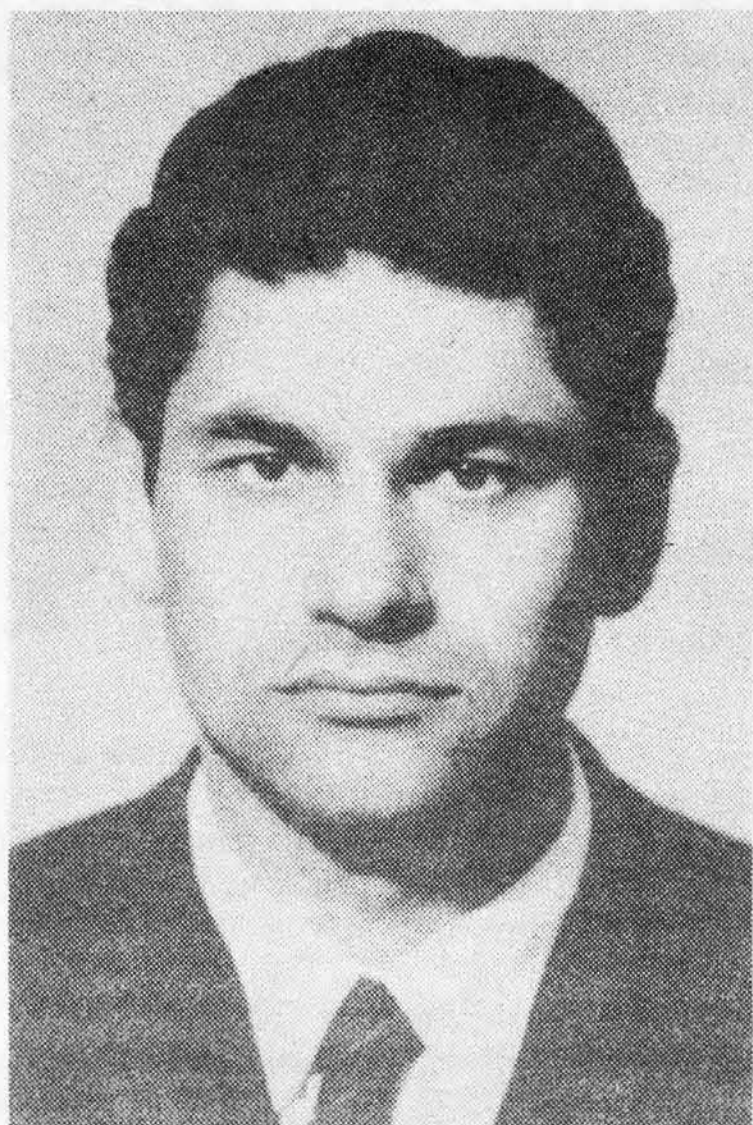
3. Ihnatenko, Mykola S. Ukrainian religious activist; arrested in Kaniv, 1981.

4. Karpuk, Victor I. Born 1952; Baptist; arrested in August 1982 in Mykolayiv.

5. Popadyuk, Zoryan. Born January 21, 1953; student; Ukrainian human rights activist; former political prisoner (1973-1980); arrested in December 1982 in Kazakhstan, while serving a 5-year term of internal exile.

6. Protsyshyn, Lyudmyla P. Born 1956; Baptist; arrested December 2, 1982, in Khmelnytsky.

7. Shnyrman, Semen. Born November 8, 1957; Jewish activist; arrested in Korch, January 10, 1983.



Yosyf Terelya

8. Terelya, Yosyf M. Born October 27, 1943; Ukrainian human rights and religious activist; former political prisoner (1962-1981); arrested December 1982 in Dovhe, Zakarpatska Region.

9. Zhovtonoshko, Heorhiy D. Born 1930; Baptist; arrested in August 1982 in Mykolayiv.

## ARMENIA

1. Mkrtchian, Ishkhan M. Born 1957; technologist; sentenced in Yerevan to 11 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for organizing the "Society of Young Armenians."

## BASHKIRIA

1. Hotman, Leonard H. Born 1923; Baptist; sentenced in Ufa to 2 years' labor camp.

2. Pugachev, Mikhail A. Born 1930; Baptist; sentenced in Ufa to 2 years' labor camp.

## DAGESTAN

1. Horshinin, Vladimir N. Born 1942; Baptist; sentenced in Kizlar to 2.5 years' labor camp.

2. Mehed, Vasily K. Born August 15, 1953; Baptist; sentenced in Kizlar to 3 years' labor camp.

3. Shevyakov, Ivan I. Born August 28, 1929; Baptist; sentenced in Kizlar to 5 years' labor camp.

4. Votchel, Likhail I. Born 1935; Baptist; sentenced in Kizlar to 2.5 years' labor camp.

## ESTONIA

1. Karu, Andres. Student; sentenced in Kallaste to 2.5 years' labor camp for raising the Estonian national flag.

2. Orula, Toivo. Sentenced June 3, 1982, in Vohma, to 3 years' labor camp for shooting at L. Brezhnev's portrait.

3. Selli, Sulev. Sentenced June 3, 1982, in Vohma, to 2 years' labor camp for shooting at L. Brezhnev's portrait.

4. Tsyrik, Yaroslav. Lawyer; sentenced June 3, 1982, in Vohma, to 2 years' labor camp, for shooting at L. Brezhnev's portrait.

5. N.N. Raul. Student; sentenced in Kallaste to 2 years' labor camp for raising the Estonian national flag.

## LATVIA

1. Usans, Richard. Born 1955; student; forcibly imprisoned in a psychiatric prison on November 15, 1982, in Riga, for Bible reading near a Latvian liberty monument.

## LITHUANIA

1. Sadunas, Jonas. Brother of well-known Lithuanian political prisoner Nikole Sudanaite; forcibly imprisoned in a psychiatric prison for his activity in the Lithuanian national movement.

## KAZAKHSTAN

1. Prokopenko, Yehor D. Born 1926; Baptist; sentenced in Zyryanovsk to 3 years' labor camp.

2. Shydyh, Ivan H. Born 1936; Baptist; sentenced in Zyryanovsk to 3 years' labor camp.

## ETHNIC GERMANS

1. Lafera, Erik H. Born May 30, 1957; sentenced to 2 years' labor camp in Kirgiz A.S.S.R. for attempting to emigrate to West Germany.

## RUSSIA

1. Artsimovich, Victor V. Translator; forcibly imprisoned in a psychiatric prison on August 10, 1982, in Tomsk, for samizdat activity.



Perevalsky's "The Eternal Revolutionary"

2. Blokhin, Nikolay. Sentenced in Moscow to 3 years' labor camp for photocopying rare literature.

3. Budarov, Vladimir. Sentenced in Moscow to 3 years' labor camp for photocopying rare literature.

4. Budarov, Sergei. Sentenced in Moscow to 3 years' labor camp for photocopying rare literature.

5. Burdykh, Viktor. Sentenced in Moscow to 4 years' labor camp for photocopying rare literature.

6. Cherkov, Nikolai A. Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1960-1962); sentenced in Smolensk to 3 years' labor camp for attempting to emigrate from the U.S.S.R.

7. Chernyshev, Anatoly A. Born 1937; sentenced in September 1982 in Tomsk to 3.5 years' labor camp for samizdat activity.

8. Elchyn, Vladimir A. Born 1940; mechanic; former political prisoner (1963-1965); sentenced in Sverdlovsk, April 7, 1982, to 5 years' imprisonment for samizdat activity.

9. Holikov, Pyotr M. Born July 7, 1927; Pentecostalist; sentenced November 27, 1982, in Rostov-on-Don, to 5 years' labor camp and 2 years' internal exile.

10. Kabinov, Anatoly S. Born 1962; Pentecostalist; sentenced to additional 2 years' labor camps while serving 3 years in Primorsky Krai.

11. Kanevsky, Boris. Born 1945; Jewish activist; sentenced January 20, 1983, in Moscow, to 5 years' of internal exile.

12. Kendel, Valeriy. Sentenced in September 1982 to 1.5 years' labor camp for samizdat activity.

13. Kochubiyevsky, Feliks. Born October 5, 1930; electrical engineer; Jewish activist; sentenced in Novosibirsk to 2.5 years' labor camp.

14. Kovalevsky A. Sentenced to 1.5 years' labor camp for samizdat activity.

15. Kurkin, Sergei. Follower of mantravogi; sentenced in December 1982 in Moscow to 2.5 years' labor camp.

16. Kritsky, Vladimir. Born approx. 1950; follower of mantra-yogi; scientist; sentenced in December 1982 in Moscow to 4 years' labor camp.

17. Kovalev, Andrei S. Born 1953; forcibly imprisoned in a psychiatric prison November 13, 1982, for attempting to emigrate from the U.S.S.R.

(Continued on pg. 6)



## Eight Human Rights Activists Nominated for Nobel Peace Prize

(Continued from pg. 1)

while six people in the affiliated groups are serving a total of 48 years of imprisonment. Yuri Orlov and Mykola Rudenko were each sentenced to 12-year terms of imprisonment for "anti-Soviet agitation;" Anatoly Shcharansky received a 13-year term of imprisonment for "treason," while Viktoras Petkus was handed a 15-year term for "anti-Soviet agitation."



Jacek Kuron

Charter '77 was organized in January 1977 to monitor the human rights situation in Czechoslovakia and to promote governmental compliance with international commitments, including the Helsinki Final Act. In April 1978, the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS) was formed to publicize individual human rights cases.

Despite systematic official repression over the last six years, Charter '77 and VONS continue their activities. Today, as many as 25 members are imprisoned or forced into exile, yet, both groups continue to document human rights abuses in Czechoslovakia. Playwright Vaclav Havel, one of the original Charter spokesmen and VONS activists, was sentenced on October 23, 1979 to four and one-half years of imprisonment for "subversion." Consistently refusing official offers of exile to the West — unless the other imprisoned Chartists are also released — Havel serves his sentence in the Plzen-Bory prison.

In Poland, the Committee of Social Self-Defense, also known as the Workers' Defense Committee (KOR), was founded on September 27, 1976 by sociologist Jacek Kuron and historian Adam Michnik to promote governmental compliance with Polish international human rights commitments. Kuron and Michnik later became key advisors to Lech Walesa, prominent in the Solidarity workers' rights movement which ultimately claimed the allegiance of ten million members. Indeed, under Solidarity, KOR felt its basic aims were being realized and so, nearly five years to the day after its establishment, KOR dissolved itself.

Unfortunately, however, the Polish government tried to snuff out the Solidarity labor-reform movement by imposing martial law on the night of December 13, 1981: Walesa, Michnik and Kuron were arrested along with thousands of other Solidarity activists. In a much heralded "liberation" move, the Polish government recently released many imprisoned Solidarity sympathizers and members, including Lech Walesa. Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron remain in prison, however, with at least 1,500 Polish citizens still

awaiting trial, and 2,500 others convicted of martial law offenses. Kuron, Michnik and three other KOR activists have been charged with "making



Viktoras Petkus

preparations for the violent overthrow of the Polish socio-political system" — a charge which carries the maximum penalty of death — and reportedly will

stand trial in the near future. Lech Walesa, although no longer imprisoned, faces a precarious future as he continues to advocate liberal solutions for Poland's problems.

The painstaking human rights advocacy of these eight men — and many thousands of their associates in the Soviet Union, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia and Poland — embodies the spirit of civic commitment to the daily promotion of peace which inspires people everywhere. In light of these contributions to world peace and genuine international understanding, we are honored to nominate Lech Walesa, Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Vaclav Havel, Yuri Orlov, Anatoly Shcharansky, Mykola Rudenko and Viktoras Petkus for the 1983 Nobel Peace Prize.

Sincerely yours,

Members of the U.S. Senate:

Robert Dole  
Orrin Hatch  
John Heinz  
Claiborne Pell  
Patrick Leahy

Members of the U.S. House of Representatives:

Dante B. Fascell  
Sidney Yates  
Timothy Wirth  
Edward J. Markey  
Don Ritter  
Christopher H. Smith

## AIR POLLUTION IN UKRAINE

By Stepan Prociuk

(Continued from pg. 1)

not really very effective. And the most serious problem — pollution by sulphur compounds — was only being "academically researched."

In connection with the severe worsening of the state of the Soviet economy in 1975-1980, the movement to clean up the environment experienced a noticeable slowdown and even ceased. In 1979-1982 the economy of the U.S.S.R. entered into a new, very grave crisis. Notwithstanding the low price of gold in 1981/1982 (the price in March 1982 was 336 dollars per ounce, as compared to an average of 650 dollars per ounce in 1980), Moscow began to sell its gold at an accelerated rate to the West, especially in London and Zurich. More than 200 tons of gold were sold in 1981, and in the one month of January 1982, 60 tons were sold — a record for the monthly sale of Soviet gold in the entire history of such transactions.<sup>2</sup> Obviously in such circumstances, funds for environmental clean-up efforts are nonexistent and the situation has clearly worsened.

Soon it will be ten years since Oleksa Naumovych Makukhin became the Soviet Minister of Energy and Electrification. He has not written much, but from his two authoritative articles we see that he is not too concerned about environmental pollution in Ukraine. The most important goal for him is that a strong energy complex develop in

Ukraine, one that would supply electrical energy into the central regions of the U.S.S.R. (read Russia), as well as into the Transcaucasus and "brotherly" socialist countries. (See "Ukrayina Elektrychna"/Electrical Ukraine/, *Visti z ukrayiny/News from Ukraine*, no. 15 (868), April 1975; "Ukrayinskaya energetyka v desyatoy pyatylyetke"/Ukrainian energy in the tenth five-year period/, *Promishlennaya Teplotekhnika/Industrial Thermotechnology*, no. 1 (1979), pp. 7-13.) In return for this generous aid Ukraine does not have the money in its budget needed to limit environmental pollution, which, simply put, is threatening the health of the already weakened population.

In addition, other factors leading to an almost catastrophic situation have been revealed. It has been proven that a great dose of pollution enters Ukrainian territory from its Western "neighbors." During the greater part of the year, winds from the West prevail in Ukraine (especially at night). This meteorological phenomenon is tied to the geophysics of the Earth's rotation as a planet.<sup>3</sup> These winds carry pollution from Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Rumania into Ukraine, mainly of the most dangerous kind of pollution caused by ashes and their components. This pollution takes on the form of dangerous so-called acid rain (in general, the

Western winds usually bring rain to Ukraine, and the eastern ones drought). This poisonous rain settles into the soil, the forests and the buildings, causing great damage. Scholars have counted up that, each year, 844,000 tons of poisonous substances (suspended) drift from Poland into Ukraine and neighboring regions; 446,000 tons from East Germany; 420,000 tons from Czechoslovakia; 373,000 tons from Hungary; and 377,000 tons from Rumania. Together this amounts to a colossal volume of approximately two and one-half million tons of pollutants not from Ukrainian industry, whose dirty emissions we could in better circumstances at least limit and regulate, but from neighboring industry, which is beyond the bounds of our intervention.<sup>4</sup> The greatest blame here lies with Poland, where even in the 1950s and 1960s preventive attempts were horribly neglected. In 1981-1982, as is well known, Poland found itself on the edge of a complete economic catastrophe. There cannot even be mention now about the building of costly clean-up equipment at polluting factories!

We do not know how the Ukr. S.S.R. or the U.S.S.R. will resolve this problem. At any rate, it is not enough to issue empty-worded and ineffective statements as was done, for example, at the Ninth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in December 1974, or in resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union in its Fourth Session in 1975. Six or seven years have elapsed since then, and the state of environmental pollution has not only not gotten better, but has even worsened in the last few years.<sup>5</sup> It seems to us that the U.S.S.R. should exact economic-political pressure upon Poland, Rumania, and East Germany to force them into efforts to clean up their factories' wastes. To be sure, although most of the pollution from these factories settles on the territory of Ukraine, nonetheless winds

carry a significant amount of toxic particles into the Western regions of Russia, where they intensify the damage caused by "local" pollution.

<sup>1</sup>See "Tok pyatylyetki"/The Five-Year Current/Kiev. Tekhnika Publishing, pp. 91-98.

<sup>2</sup>The yearly production of gold in the U.S.S.R. approximates 300 tons, of which 60 tons go for internal use; in other words, in 1981-1982 the U.S.S.R. was selling almost all of its produced gold to the West in order to cover its debts. See *New York Times*, November 3, 1982.

<sup>3</sup>For this reason, a flight from New York to, say, Paris takes seven hours, but eight hours from Paris to New York.

<sup>4</sup>See Fred Pearce, "The Menace of Acid Rain," *New Scientist*, No. 1318, November 8, 1982, pp. 418-424.

<sup>5</sup>As a matter of fact, the above-mentioned countries-polluters, especially Poland and East Germany, threaten the environments of Sweden and Norway also, although to a lesser degree. In what sorrowful state Polish energy finds itself today, see "Polski syndrom w Zarnowcu"/The Polish Syndrome in Zarnowice/, *Dziennik Polski/The Polish Daily*, (New York), September 4, 1982.

<sup>6</sup>A typical scene: recently a Lviv regional publishing house printed a booklet-guide to Truskavets. One of the pages of the booklet is adorned with a photograph of the Burshtyn electrical power plant and its reservoir, above which a thick cloud of dirty black smoke moves directly towards the health spa.

### THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN UKRAINE: DOCUMENTS OF THE UKRAINIAN

HELSINKI GROUP, 1976-1980

Edited by Lesya Verba and Bohdan Yasen.

Introduction by Nina Strokata.

Preface by Andrew Zvarun.

The only English-language collection of the documents of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, the largest and the most severely repressed of the five Helsinki-monitoring groups in the Soviet Union.

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## Sen. Dole Addresses Madrid Conference

On November 23, 1982, U.S. Senator Robert Dole spoke at a plenary session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Madrid. In his remarks, Senator Dole drew attention to the plight of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group members. Below are excerpts from his remarks:

It is both a pleasure and a challenge for me to share my thought on the CSCE process, along with those of my colleagues in the United States Senate. A pleasure because the very dialogue that takes place in this hall is one instrument of a peaceful world. Initiated in Helsinki, maintained in Belgrade, and now continued in Madrid, this frank exchange of views may sometimes seem to illuminate our differences more than to resolve them — but how much better it is to throw a light on matters otherwise confined to the dark rooms of suspicion or distrust.

It is a challenge as well for me to address you this afternoon, for there are issues that divide the nations represented here. And in the United States there is substantial interest, both public and congressional, that attaches to these proceedings. This reflects the American desire to enhance East-West security through arms control and to strengthen economic cooperation as much as possible. And it reflects a sentiment noted by President Ford when he signed the Final Act: "The deep devotion of the American people and government to human rights and fundamental freedoms and to the pledge this Conference has made regarding the freer movement of people, ideas and information."

To the American people, such words speak to the heart of those principles written into the charters of their freedom. They suggest a time and world where no one wields a sword and no one drags a chain. And they provide a powerful incentive to follow closely, not only what you and we say here in Madrid, but what you and we do after this conference takes its place in the thick volume of modern diplomatic history.

### A NATION OF NATIONS

The United States is a nation of nations, an immigrant crossroads. The ancestors of most Americans have their roots in European nations, East and West. Along with those roots goes a continuing interest in their national heritage, and in the fate of those who continue to live in the lands of their parents and grandparents. But in many of those lands, the aspirations for liberty that served as a midwife to the infant American public, over 200 years ago, have too often been frustrated. For us to lose our interest in the liberty of others would be to disregard the guiding light of our history and heritage. And while the American people retain an undiminished faith in the Helsinki process itself, they are disaffected, perhaps to the point of disillusionment, with the lack of compliance on the part of some signatories.

### EAST-WEST HARMONY: HOW?

I have just returned from the Soviet Union where the improvement of U.S.-Soviet trade relations was widely discussed. With several of my colleagues from Congress, I took part in the meetings of the U.S.-Soviet Business Council, where scores of international businessmen expressed their interest in renewed and closer East-West economic ties. I also met with Prime Minister Tikhonov, Acting President Kuznetsov, and many other Soviet officials who were clearly eager to find a way for us to improve relations not only in trade but in other areas as well, including arms control.

What I said in Moscow I will say here. The U.S. Congress and the American

people seek to develop genuine cooperation with all the European countries, no matter what their social system. East-West harmony is a fundamental objective of American foreign policy. The opportunities to achieve that harmony can be enlarged by what we do here in Madrid, within the framework of the



Senator Robert Dole

CSCE. Yet, how can we make progress without abiding by the Final Act's provisions? How, ask our scientists, can we engage in cooperative scientific endeavors, while Soviet scientists are prohibited from working in their fields, and while Dr. Andrei Sakharov, the world-famous physicist, remains in exile? How, ask our labor leaders, can we increase industrial cooperation when the Polish government outlaws the free trade union Solidarity? How, ask our religious leaders, can we promote expanded religious contacts when some of their co-religionists languish in labor camps and prisons?

What we have is a crisis of confidence: the American people cannot reconcile these harsh realities with the noble ideals embodied in the Final Act and espoused by its signatories. They expect us to live up to our word. . . .

### THE PAINFUL IRONY OF POLAND

The evidence of this is both tragic and compelling. The hopeful transformation of political and social life that had begun in Poland, has been all but destroyed with the imposition of martial law, and we know that the Soviet Union has been instrumental in this. Recent actions, such as the banning of Solidarity, have done nothing to restore confidence in Polish and Soviet fidelity to their Final Act obligations. Americans and many others are, of course, most pleased with the recent release of Lech Walesa. We also look forward to a renewal of the precious dialogue that briefly warmed relations between the Government of Poland and the Polish people.

Sadly, not all the prisoners of politics have gone free. In the Soviet Union, members of the Helsinki monitoring groups — who took seriously their own country Helsinki pledge and their recognition in the Final Act that "institutions, organizations and individuals have a relevant and positive role" to play in fostering the aims of the accords — have suffered harsh reprisals. Thirty-eight currently imprisoned members of the Moscow, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Georgian and Armenian groups are serving a combined total of almost 400 years in prison, labor camps, special psychiatric hospitals and internal exile. Indeed, in this very month, Americans

## Ambassador Kampelman Addresses Madrid Conference

On February 10, 1983, Max M. Kampelman, Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Madrid Conference, presented a statement on the sixth anniversary of the arrest of Yuri Orlov. Mr. Kampelman took this occasion to remember the other Helsinki Monitors in the Soviet Union, including those of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Six years ago today, Dr. Yuri Orlov, a distinguished physicist and dedicated humanitarian, was arrested by Soviet authorities. He remains in strict regimen labor camp where he is forced to engage in harsh labor under cruel conditions.



Max Kampelman, Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Madrid Conference.

His health has been endangered as a result of being frequently placed in solitary confinement and in a special punishment jail where he is deprived of adequate food, sleep and protection against the cold.

He is isolated from his wife and family, denied formal prisoner visitation rights and cut off from correspondence. His wife has been denied the opportunity to see him or talk to him since August, 1979 — 3½ long years.

Why is this giant of a human being punished so vindictively, harassed and physically beaten by hoodlums in jail? It is because he believed in 1975 that

are commemorating the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian and Lithuanian Helsinki groups, both of which have been particularly hard hit.

Moreover, emigration from the Soviet Union has reached its lowest point in ten years: Less than 5,000 Soviet Jews, ethnic Germans, Armenians and others are likely to be granted exit permission this year, or roughly one-twelfth of the number that received permission to leave as recently as 1979. There are also tragic cases of separation from loved ones, as illustrated by the divided family hunger strikes that took place this summer in Moscow. Furthermore, jamming of Western radio broadcasts has not ceased. No one would be surprised that these violations have severely damaged the credibility of the Soviet government in the eyes of the American people. And this factor has spilled over into other areas of negotiation including trade and arms control. For us, and for our allies, the quest for disarmament and the search for peace is inextricably interwoven with respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The two go hand in hand.

### THE ROAD TO CREDIBILITY

Pretending that the problems we have noted do not exist will not make them disappear. On the other hand, genuine moves towards fulfilling the promises of Helsinki would provide a favorable climate for reconciliation of a wide range of differences between us. The acceptance of proposals outlined in the

his country, the Soviet Union, intended to live up to the Helsinki Final Act which its leader signed. He, therefore, founded the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group.

The agreement which his country signed said that citizens in each country could do what Dr. Orlov decided to do. His government in signing the Helsinki Final Act undertook to respect the human rights of its citizens. It turned out to be all a lie. And this courageous man of science, this humanitarian, who has so much to give to the world has been treated worse than a common criminal by a cynical and brutal system.

Yuri Orlov is not forgotten by men and women all over the world who believe in human dignity. He is not forgotten in Madrid where delegates from Western Europe, the United States and Canada are insisting that the human rights provisions of the Helsinki agreement must be lived up to by the Soviet Union if we are to believe other promises they make to us.

We will not forget and we will not stop our efforts until Yuri Orlov and Anatoly Shcharansky and the other members of the Moscow, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Georgian and the Armenian Monitors now imprisoned are free — not until the members of the Charter '77 Group of Czechoslovakia now in jail are free — not until the members of the Polish Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) are free.

Only when these men and women of conscience are free can we all be assured that the peace and security promised us by the Helsinki Final Act can be achieved.

That is a task which the American delegation today rededicates itself to fulfill.

western package of amendments, particularly those dealing with human rights and family reunification, would be a start.

Also, the release of interned trade unionists and other political prisoners in Poland, the lifting of martial law, and the renewal of dialogue between the three major sectors of Polish society — the government, the church and Solidarity — would be highly welcome. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan would help further to rebuild the confidence on which true security and cooperation depends.

The United States, and especially those of us in Congress, would encourage the Soviet Union to take a series of further steps that would be viewed positively throughout the West. Among them are:

1. The easing of impediments to emigration.
2. The resolution of long-term family reunification and binational marriage cases;
3. The release of imprisoned or exiled members of the Helsinki monitoring groups, especially those with severe health problems, and a halt to the harassment of these groups;
4. The restoration of direct dial telephone circuits;
5. An improvement in the availability of economic and commercial information;
6. The improvement in working conditions for journalists;

(Continued on pg. 9)





## A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

### AI Appeals on Behalf of Shumuk

Citing concern for his health, Amnesty International has issued a special action bulletin regarding Danylo Shumuk. It urges that telegrams and letters be written to various Soviet authorities requesting Mr. Shumuk's immediate release from internal exile. Letters should draw attention to Mr. Shumuk's age (69), ill health and prolonged imprisonment. They may refer to Article 100 of the R.S.F.S.R. Corrective Labor Code, which states that "Convicted persons suffering from chronic mental illness or another grave illness which prevents further serving of punishment may be released by a court from further serving of punishment."

Recent information indicates that in September 1982, while in exile in northwest Kazakhstan, Shumuk suffered a stomach hemorrhage and was taken to a hospital. He was diagnosed to be suffering from gastric polypi, acute gastritis and thrombo-phlebitis. Although released from the hospital, he is reported still to be in serious condition, with possible anemia resulting from the hemorrhage.



Danylo Shumuk

### Los Angeles Journalists in Defense of Badzyo

Journalists from Los Angeles who are members of Amnesty International have undertaken an active campaign to secure the release of Yuriy Badzyo, a 46-year-old Ukrainian philologist and literary critic who is serving a sentence of seven years' imprisonment and five years' exile for writing an article, "The Right to Live."

Ruth Hirshman, a television correspondent and head of the Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners,

has stated that because Los Angeles will be at the center of world attention in connection with the 1984 Summer Olympics, the journalists expect to focus this attention on Badzyo's plight.

The journalists plan to write to their colleagues in Ukraine, expressing their concern about Badzyo. Upon the urging of this group, both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives have passed special resolutions in defense of Badzyo.

### Canadian Parliament Honors Ukrainian Helsinki Group on Sixth Anniversary

On November 9, 1982 — the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group — the Canadian Parliament adopted the following resolution to remember the members of the Group:

WHEREAS on November 9, 1976, the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords (known also as the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group) was established in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, to monitor the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, signed by the Soviet Union and 34 other countries, including Canada and the United States.

AND WHEREAS it was well-documented at the Belgrade and Madrid Review Conferences that the Soviet Union has violated and continues to flagrantly violate the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, as well

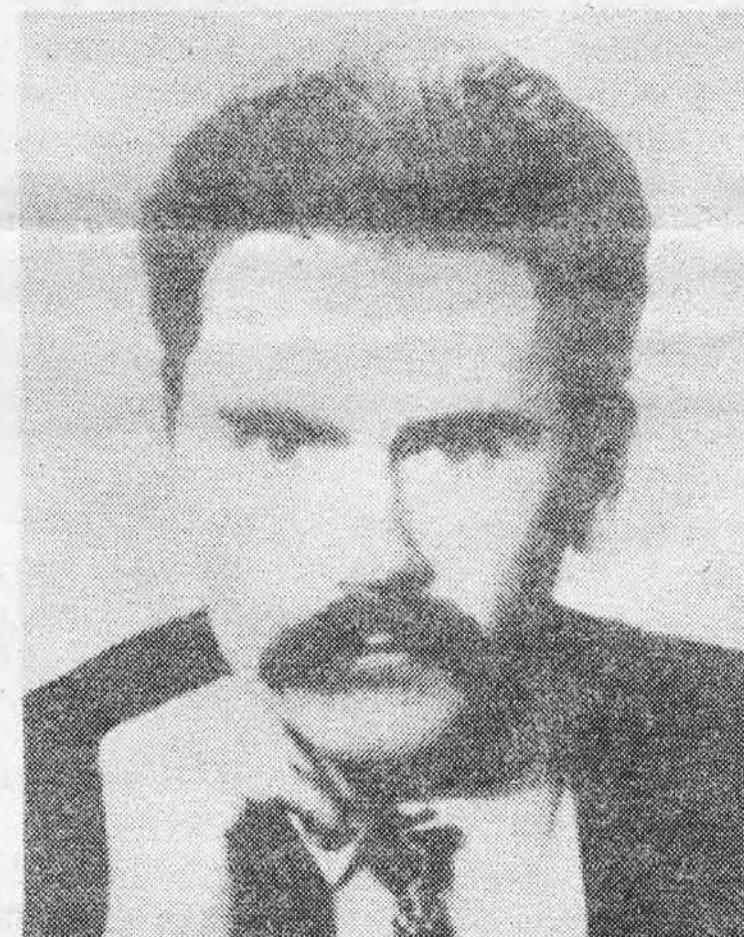
as the Soviet Constitution, the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

AND WHEREAS the Soviet Union has persecuted, imprisoned or exiled all 38 members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, and has been harassing the members of their families, thus increasing the tensions between the East and West and undermining the validity of the international treaties and agreements of the Soviet Union;

BE IT RESOLVED THAT on the sixth anniversary of the foundation of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, the Senate of Canada pay tribute to the Group's persecuted members and request that the Soviet Union immediately release all the imprisoned members of this Group and cease the persecution of all those who are active in the defense of human rights in compliance with the Helsinki Final Act.

### U.S. Congressman Schulze Adopts Plakhotnyuk

In conjunction with a campaign initiated in 1981 by the Ukrainian Human Rights Committee of Philadelphia, yet



Mykola Plakhotnyuk

another member of the U.S. Congress has adopted a Ukrainian prisoner of conscience. Richard T. Schulze, a five-term Congressman from the fifth district of Pennsylvania, has adopted Mykola Plakhotnyuk.

Mykola Plakhotnyuk was first arrested in January 1972 on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He served his eight-year sentence in a psychiatric hospital, from where he was released on December 10, 1980. In September 1981 he was re-arrested, this time on fabricated criminal charges, and sentenced to four years of forced labor. Because Plakhotnyuk has suffered from tuberculosis since childhood, this sentence is life-endangering for him.

On December 13, 1982, Congressman Schulze wrote a letter to Yuri Andropov, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., asking him to review Plakhotnyuk's case in accordance with the principles of the Helsinki Accords. No response to this letter has been received.

### POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE U.S.S.R.

(Continued from pg. 3)

18. Minayev, Nikolai I. Born April 14, 1929; Baptist; sentenced August 20, 1982, in Orel, to 3 years' labor camp.

19. Modnov, Aleksandr. Born 1939; Baptist; sentenced in Kemerovo to 3 years' labor camp.

20. Pawlyuk, Valeriy B. Forcibly imprisoned in a psychiatric prison in Smolensk, on November 7, 1982, for attempting to emigrate.

21. Rozanov (Sidorov) A. Sentenced in Moscow to 3 years' labor camp for photocopying of rare literature.

22. Shefer, Lew G. Born 1931; technician; Jewish activist; former political prisoner (1963-1965); sentenced in

Sverdlovsk, on April 7, 1982, to 5 years' imprisonment for samizdat activity.

23. Titov, Vladimir H. Born 1938; human rights activist; former political prisoner; forcibly imprisoned in a psychiatric prison in Kaluga, on November 11, 1982, for samizdat activity.

24. Yankov, V. Born in 1934; physicist; sentenced in Moscow, January 21, 1983, to 4 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for samizdat activity.

25. Yermyshev, Yevgeniy A. Born July 17, 1939; Baptist; sentenced in Orel to 2.5 years' labor camp.

### UZBEKISTAN

1. Rekhimov, Abduzakar. Sentenced in September 1982 in Tashkent to 7 years' labor camp for distributing Muslim samizdat.

2. Roziyev, Makhmudzhon. Former political prisoner; sentenced in September 1982 in Tashkent to 4 years' labor camp for distributing Muslim samizdat.

3. Rozumovsky, Alexander Ye. Born September 29, 1958; sentenced in Ferhana to 2 years' labor camp.

4. Shmidt, Boris Ya. Born February 21, 1920; Baptist; sentenced December 1, 1982, in Kemerovo, to 4 years' labor camp.

5. Yashchukovsky, Ivan H. Born 1929; Baptist; sentenced December 1, 1982, in Kemerovo, to 3 years' labor camp.

6. Yudinsev, Andrei V. Born 1964; Baptist; sentenced in Fall 1982 in Kharkiv to 3.5 years' labor camp.

### UKRAYINSKI POLITVYAZNI V SRSR:

#### (UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR: A DIRECTORY)

Compiled by Marta Harasowska.

An alphabetical listing of all known political prisoners in Ukraine, containing addresses and basic information about each. Also includes addresses of the main prisons, labor camps and psychiatric prisons in the USSR; addresses of Soviet government, party and prison authorities; addresses of human rights organizations in the West; information on how to conduct correspondence with political prisoners and other defense actions. In notebook form. Current as of December 1981.

Smoloskyp Publishers, 1981. LC 81-86106.

ISBN 0-914834-47-9. 204 pages.

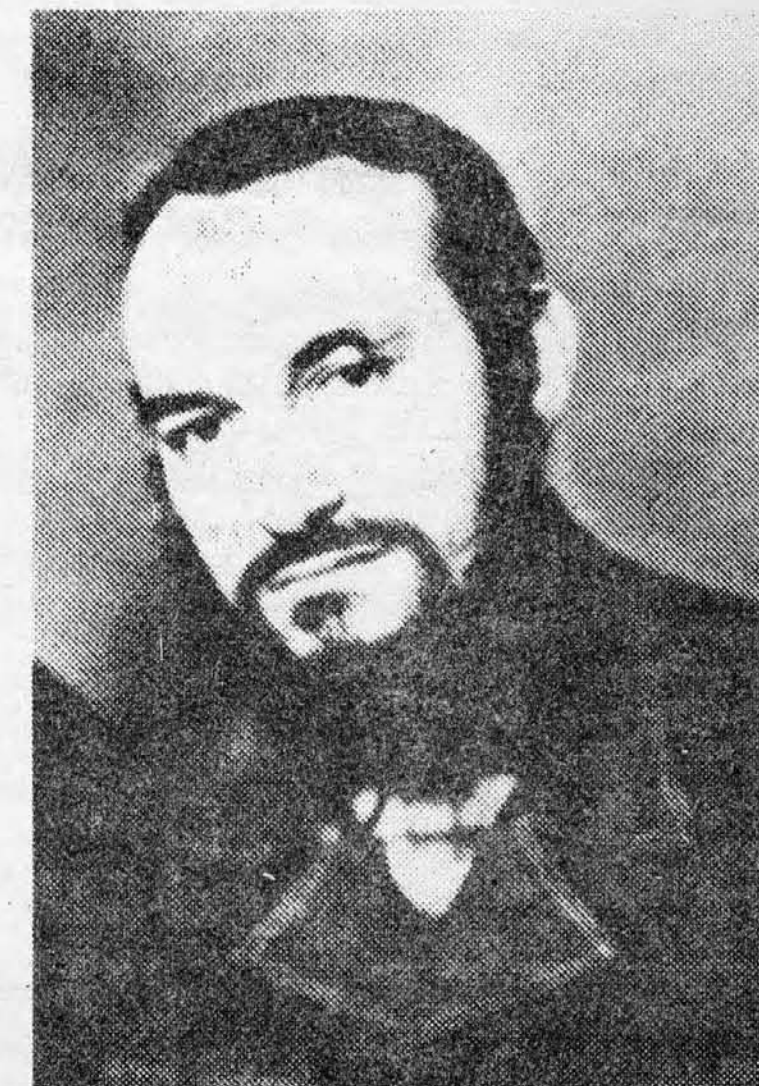
In Ukrainian only.  
Paperbound - \$7.25.

### Union of Councils for Soviet Jews Appeals on Behalf of Paritsky

The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews has issued an appeal to help prisoner of conscience Alexander Paritsky, who was sentenced in November 1981 to three years of labor camp for "defaming the Soviet state."

According to the Union of Councils' "Weekly Update," Paritsky was placed in a punishment cell at the camp for six months. Punishment cells generally involve solitary confinement, food once every two days, and denial of warm clothing. Even before imprisonment, Paritsky was suffering from heart trouble and high blood pressure. He has repeatedly been in and out of hospitals. Meanwhile, his wife Polina and two daughters are being harassed by the KGB.

The Union urges that letters of support be sent to Alexander Paritsky: U.S.S.R., Buryatskaya A.S.S.R., 67 H 11, Kabansky Rayon, Stantsya Pocht. Ya. 94/4, Otryad; and to his wife: U.S.S.R., Ukr. S.S.R., Kharkiv, Tankopiya 19/2, Kv. 48, Polina Paritsky.



Alexander Paritsky





## A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

### French Amnesty Group in Defense of Kandyba

Group No. 31, "Vallée de la Juine," of Amnesty International has obtained an invitation for Ukrainian political prisoner Ivan Kandyba to lecture at Dijon University in France.

The Council of the law and political science faculty at the University adopted a resolution to approach Soviet authorities about allowing Kandyba to give a few lectures at a Law and Philosophy Seminar to be held during the academic year 1982-83.

Kandyba, a jurist, was sentenced in July 1981 to ten years' strict regime labor camp and five years' exile. He is currently in Perm Camp No. 36.

Ivan Kandyba



### International League for Human Rights Appeals to Madrid Conference

In an appeal to the Madrid Review Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on the eve of its re-opening, the International League for Human Rights has called for the end of martial law in Poland, followed by the termination of economic sanctions imposed by the U.S. and other countries and support for Poland's application for membership in the International Monetary Fund.

In the statement, League President Jerome J. Shestack and Executive Director Felice D. Gaer urged states participating in the Madrid meeting to resume substantive negotiations despite

increased tensions in Europe.

Other concrete proposals enumerated in the statement called for the release of Yuri Orlov and Mykola Rudenko, founding members of the Moscow and Kiev Helsinki Groups, respectively, and both very ill; the resolution of cases of divided families; ratification by the U.S. and other countries of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; a substantive Concluding Document to be completed at the current meeting; conferences on disarmament and human rights; and a third follow-up meeting to be held in Vienna in the spring of 1985.

### French Parliament Commemorates International Human Rights Day

On December 10, 1982, the anniversary of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, a manifestation in support of human rights in Eastern Europe was held in the French Parliament. The manifestation was sponsored by J.M. Daye, representative of the Christian Democratic Party, and organized by the Committee for Freedom and Sovereignty for the Nations of the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, in which Ukrainians play a prominent role.

The gathering — held in the conference hall of the Christian Democratic group — was attended by about 50 representatives of various Eastern European nations as well as noted

French supporters of the captive nations. Among the speakers were Mr. Daye and Dr. K. Mytrovych, head of the Committee for Freedom and Sovereignty. Ten Ukrainians other than Dr. Mytrovych also took part.

The participants approved a telegram to President Mitterand, asking that France adopt a clear and effective policy on the defense of human and national rights in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. In addition, Mr. Malynovych, editor of *The Ukrainian Word*, appealed to all participants to take part in a December 22 demonstration on the Champs-Élysées marking the 60th anniversary of the "prison of nations" — the U.S.S.R.

### International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights Formed

Citizens from eight countries that signed the Helsinki Accords announced November 9 the formation of the "International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights" by national committees in Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United States.

Spokesmen of the new federation urged that citizens in prison for monitoring compliance with the Helsinki Agreement must be freed and allowed to continue their work. They urged governments to join in putting pressure on Eastern countries' authorities to improve the situation of those people in Eastern Europe who are demanding the implementation of the Helsinki Agreement and pointed out that the right of

each individual to know and act upon his rights is one of the fundamental tenets of the Helsinki Accords.

The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights was organized in Italy in September 1982 by citizens from 18 Helsinki signatory countries. It federates Helsinki committees in eight Western countries and is working with human rights activists in other countries who plan to form Helsinki groups where they do not presently exist. Serving as consultants are representatives of groups in Eastern Europe and of the recently disbanded Moscow Helsinki Group. The U.S. representative at the press conference was Jeri Laber, Executive Director of the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee.

### Andropov, Marchais Exchange Letters on Shcharansky

On January 18, 1983, Georges Marchais, Secretary General of the French Communist Party, wrote a letter to Yuri Andropov, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, inquiring about the reasons for Anatoly Shcharansky's internment and prospects for his future. Andropov's reply to this letter stresses that reductions in sentences are possible, but warns that "noisy campaigns and external pressure" will not facilitate such a possibility. Once again, the Soviet authorities are trying to squelch world outcry by tying it in to the fate of a suffering dissident.

Printed below are the letters between Marchais and Andropov, as well as a letter to Andropov from Ida Milgrom, mother of Anatoly Shcharansky. Mrs. Milgrom has received no reply to this letter. Meanwhile, it has been reported that on January 14, 1983, Shcharansky ended his hunger strike after more than five months.

Georges Marchais' January 18 Message to Andropov:

I am writing to you to obtain information on three very specific points.

First, what are the reasons for Shcharansky's internment? Do you confirm the reasons previously cited? If so, do you have any supplementary information for us on this point?

Second, what exactly is his state of health? The French press reports alarming rumors according to which he has only a few days to live. The Soviet authorities' silence on this point only strengthens these rumors' credibility. Can you deny them in the most formal manner and send me precise information on his state of health? Is a visit by his mother to be envisaged?

Shcharansky's internment? Do you con- regarding Shcharansky's future?



Ida Milgrom, mother of Anatoly Shcharansky

strike. His state of health is satisfactory and his life is not at risk.

Soviet law does not rule out the possibility of a reduction of sentence for people found guilty of this kind of crime, on the basis of the granting of a request for early release. But in Soviet law this depends on the convict's behavior. Obviously such a possibility is not facilitated by noisy campaigns and external pressures. On the contrary, they prevent it.

Ida Milgrom's letter to Andropov:

"It is not the first time that I write to the first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I have been continuously asking to see my son. I very much want to see him so that he will stop his hunger strike. For ten days, I waited near Chistopol Prison but I did not see my son. The only thing that the Commandant of the Prison permitted was to receive my short note and let me have Anatoly's brief reply.

I understand that his health is appalling. Therefore after having his note I applied to the Minister of Health and Internal Affairs (who is responsible for the Prisons and Camps) to send my son to the hospital immediately. On January 24, I met the Chief of this department and he told me that whether or not my son continues with his hunger strike is his decision.

I understand from him that he will not help me solve this catastrophic situation. It is now clear that my son did not stop his hunger strike and I am therefore appealing to you personally, Mr. Andropov, for your help so that my son may be sent to the hospital and I may see him for the first time since January 1982."

Ida Milgrom  
January 28, 1983  
Moscow



Anatoly Shcharansky  
Nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize  
by the U.S. Helsinki Commission  
Yuriy Andropov's Reply:

As we informed you, Shcharansky was sentenced by a Soviet court for a serious crime against his country. He was sentenced for espionage activities, which took the form in particular of the transfer to the U.S. secret services of information about the Soviet defense industry.

Shcharansky's guilt was confirmed and proven by the court with irrefutable evidence. The Shcharansky case was heard by the RSFSR Supreme Court in open session and in full accordance with Soviet laws, in particular regarding the right to a lawyer. In view of the particularly serious nature of his crime, he was sentenced to 13 years' criminal detention.

With the intention of organizing pressure on the Soviet judiciary, Shcharansky has staged a hunger



## REFLECTIONS OF A FORMER PRISONER OF THE U.S.S.R.

By Nadia Svitlychna

On April 1, 1973, during court proceedings, prosecutor Khrushch requested that the court punish me with four years' imprisonment in strict-regime camps. Naturally, my entire life had been presented by her as one of continuous anti-Soviet activity that was based on a pathological hatred of everything Russian. Defense attorney Denysenko tried to prove that the charge should be changed from violation of Article 62, Section 1, of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"), which carries a maximum sentence of seven years in strict-regime camps plus five years' exile, to violation of Article 187, Sec. 1, CC Ukr. S.S.R. ("slandering activity without the goal of undermining Soviet authority"). Violation of this article carries a maximum penalty of three years' imprisonment in general-regime camps.

My final statement was postponed until the morning of April 2. I began it by paraphrasing a verse from Lermontov:

You came here to listen  
To my confession. I am grateful.  
It's always better to ease the load  
On my breast with words to  
someone  
But I didn't do people harm.  
Therefore, to know my actions  
Would have little use for you.  
But a soul, can it really be described?

"Yes, a soul is too delicate a thing to staple it to a record of proceedings or to put it through a striptease, even in the chambers of a closed court."

This is how I began my final statement before the court. Then I denied that the works that I had been accused of reading were anti-Soviet in content, or, even more, that my goal was the undermining of Soviet authority. Such a goal I did not have nor could I have had, reading the *samvydav* works of Shumuk, Sverstyuk, Osadchy and other authors.

I also denied the nationalistic motives that the investigators and the court ascribed to me. I really did not have nor do I have any prejudice against any nation, including the Russian nation. Although always speaking in Ukrainian, I easily went over to Russian if I were so addressed, for example, on the job in the library. In my home library I had Russian-language books side by side with Ukrainian-language books, and also willingly read them to my son. I placed my son in a Russian nursery school (true, because I did not find any Ukrainian nurseries in the capital of Ukraine). It was difficult for me to teach a one-and-a-half-year-old child to differentiate between the Russian and Ukrainian languages, and even more difficult under these circumstances to lay the foundation of a native language; nevertheless, I did not instill in my son any hostility or unfriendliness toward the Russian language, since, after all, I myself had no such feelings.

In my final statement I attempted to rehabilitate the names of the Kievan artist Alla Horska, and of the poetess and translator from Brasil, Vira Vovk, whom the judge and the prosecution tried to smear in every manner. I was proud of my closeness to these people. I asked the court to return the letters from Alla Horska that she had written before her tragic death and which, for no reason, had been taken from me.

I admitted partial guilt, explaining that since I had a higher education, I should have learned more exactly the judicial laws which regulate life in our society. I naively and blindly believed in

the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of speech and underestimated the criminal code, for which I now must pay dearly. In the verdict, out of this entire explanation, they left remaining only the naked standard phrase "The accused admitted partial guilt."



Nadia Svitlychna was a political prisoner in the labor camps of the Moldavian A.S.S.R. from 1972 to 1976. In 1978 she emigrated from Ukraine and settled in the United States. She is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and editor of the *Herald of Repression in Ukraine*, which has been appearing in Ukrainian and English editions since 1980. Nadia Svitlychna's account was broadcast in Ukrainian by Radio Liberty.

Panicking out of fear of being deprived my maternal rights, I asked the court to punish me as it pleased if only it would not separate me from my son. In exchange I proposed a huge price: if they would let me be with my child (wherever they wanted, even in exile), I promised never to write anything, never to retype or to copy anything in any manner. I could not promise that I would not read because this would have been an unrealistic promise: I am a philologist by profession. And since the classification of works as "anti-Soviet" or "slandering" does not have an exact definition and is treated loosely, often subjectively, and since special lists of forbidden literature do not exist at all (at least not for public use), then it is very easy to become an unintentional reader of literature dangerous to ideas.

To this day I find it strange and incomprehensible why the court did not accept my proposition; after all, at that moment of highest courtroom tension it would have been so easy to buy my soul, and on such easy terms. I do not know how I would have lived after that with those bonds on my soul, for which I myself had asked because of my child. Fortunately, the court was carrying out its own plan, its own program. But they were not concerned with protecting me from anti-Soviet attitudes (which they may have detected in me only by projecting into the future). They were concerned with depriving me of common sense, with using me to trample others. And since I did not agree with their appraisal of the *samvydav* works and did not accept the destructive characterization of their authors, the prosecution and court decided to take me down their normal

educational path — through concentration camps.

The verdict was read late in the evening. From my morning final statement until the evening verdict, there was waiting, long and exhausting. And the court conferred in a small, closed room, even though the verdict repeated almost word for word the original indictment, so that all that was needed was to copy it under a new heading, after adding certain phrases such as, "the guilt of the accused was fully proven by material evidence obtained during a search."

For the reading of the verdict they filled the court chamber with so-called representatives of the community. Among several score of unknown faces I recognized only one woman. She had been a technician with the republican radio committee, where I also worked for a short time in the spring of 1968. An older unmarried woman, whose last name I have forgotten, a Communist with long party service, she at one time had worked on the staff of the Central Committee, for which they called her Furtzeva, behind her back. Sentimental and simple, she occasionally would cry for Lenin, for Gagarin, and for all of progressive humanity, which had obstacles placed in its path to paradise by evil forces. Her tears flowed strictly within the channel of the party line and, although this channel would meander, it always did so together with the party line. For this reason I doubt that in her party heart there flashed any spark of sympathy toward me, an inveterate nationalist whose purpose in life was the weakening and undermining of Soviet authority.

When they began to read the verdict, they allowed into the court chamber my mother and my brother's wife, who by the way, had her birthday that day. They entered disoriented, depressed, exhausted from six days of hopeless waiting before the forbidding walls of the Kiev regional court. There weren't any more seats, so they were shoved somewhere into the aisle, separated from me by a wall of guards and "the community."

The verdict hit like a thunderclap — peremptory and blunt. Having added in all the mitigating circumstances, the court delivered the verdict that had been demanded by the prosecutor — four years of strict-regime camps.

And so ended the most difficult period of my imprisonment, the period of doubts, indecision, and compromise. But later, for all the humiliation, the physical difficulties, for all that goes by the name "slavery," I received good compensation — the opportunity to be myself and the fortune to interact with proud and internally free people, Soviet political prisoners.

Retelling my personal case and my personal experiences, here in a world free from censorship, I felt ill at ease, primarily because my case was neither extraordinary nor in any respect demonstrative. I feel particularly uncomfortable before those who now or even since that time remain in the same (or even worse) situation as the one I was in for a relatively brief four-year term. But it was told to me (and I know this myself) that even my small experience is useful for those who today come up against that same monster — the KGB. And even though each one must get his own bruises before he learns to walk, my mistakes and my experience may warn someone against repeating them. Today there are somewhat different methods, somewhat different forms, but the

substance is the same, and the entire system the same as well.

I would like to conclude this account of my trial with two poems by my brother, Ivan Svitlychny, which he wrote at the same time and in the same prison on Volodymyr Street in Kiev. They were printed in the collection, *Sonnets Behind Bars*, published by Suchasnist in 1977.

### A Sonnet of Lament

Know how to pity your judge.  
Forgive him his grave sins,  
For he is human, just like you;  
At home he has a wife and children.  
He needs to bring them money,  
And also needs — can't hide the truth —  
To know how to prove state crimes  
Out of a dog's howling.  
Would you like to be inside his skin?  
To bend in two your spine and conscience?  
A dog's fate. Understand this  
And don't stomp the swamp into mud,  
Pity your judge, at least as much  
As we pity whores.

### Transgression

A great sin in my heart I carry.  
V. Stus

I'm guilty, brothers. We're all guilty.  
Our sin will be judged by the ages  
For the Berias, for Solovky,  
For all the black, dishonored, criminal,  
And violated years,  
For simple truths unembellished,  
For when crazed sub alterns  
Castrated our tongues,  
For ribs gouged in torture chambers,  
Rehabilitation won on bended knees,  
For the heavens scarred with bars —  
Judge me, show me no leniency,  
Judge me — I'm guilty — even to the  
"gallows"  
Send me, and, while you're at it,  
Also yourselves.

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## Madrid Update

### The Fifth Session: An Overview

After a recess of several months, the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe reconvened on November 9, 1982. Amidst growing tension between East and West, the participants — signatory countries of the 1975 Helsinki Accords — are faced with the task of developing a substantive Concluding Document. Printed below are some statements about the progress of the conference, as reported by the U.S. Helsinki Commission.

(CSCE) The fifth phase of the long-protracted Madrid Meeting came to an end on December 18, 1982, with a decision to resume negotiations on Tuesday, February 8, 1983. While the six-week session, which began on November 9, did not bring East and West any closer in their deadlock over key human rights and security issues, many participants considered this phase — which at least gave the appearance of ongoing negotiations — to have been useful and more positive than the previous one in February-March, 1982, during which substantive negotiations were virtually suspended because of sharp East-West disagreements over Poland, and to a lesser extent, Afghanistan and human rights issues.

The decision of the Western allies to negotiate in November when they would not negotiate in February reflected not a change in the international situation but a strong conviction among most of the allies that, with the passage of a decent interval since the imposition of martial law in Poland, Western interests, both domestic and international, would be better served by a return to the negotiating table. However, at the same time the allies agreed to new proposals which would take into account the negative developments of the past year. These proposals were introduced and

became the focus of the meeting.

The death of Soviet President Brezhnev in the first week of the session produced a short truce in polemics, reflecting both respect for the departure of a world leader and a wait-and-see attitude toward his successor, the new Communist Party Chief Yuri Andropov. Interest in the high-level changes in the Soviet Union were heightened in Madrid by the presence of Andropov's son, Igor, who joined the Soviet delegation — now led by Vice Foreign Minister Anatoly Kovalev — as a top-ranking member. (The former Soviet delegation chief, Leonid Ilichev, is involved in the recently renewed Sino-Soviet talks.)

Following the opening two weeks of the meeting during which most Western nations gave critical assessments of the poor state of implementation of the Final Act's human rights provisions in the Soviet Union and Poland in particular, the meeting settled into a routine in which activity was concentrated on work in the drafting group which met four times weekly. The focal point of attention was the allied package of new proposals, introduced at the beginning of the session to take account of the Polish situation, the continuing occupation of Afghanistan and the deteriorating human rights record in the East. This package was presented in the form of amendments to the draft concluding document (RM-39) put forward by the neutral and non-aligned (NNA) countries in December, 1981, just before martial law was imposed in Poland. While the Soviets were careful not to refuse to discuss these amendments, they and their allies refused to accept them on the grounds that the proposals merely resurrected issues which the East had already dismissed in earlier phases of the Madrid Meeting.

During the final weeks of this phase, events in Poland were followed very closely. The declarations of the Jaruzelski regime concerning the lifting of martial law caused both Western and NNA countries to adopt a cautious attitude pending actual developments. This caution was reflected in the muted remarks made by several delegations in their concluding speeches to this session and by the avoidance of the issue entirely in the remarks of others.

### U.S. Statements at the Meeting

(CSCE) U.S. speeches during this latest phase reflected the concerns that have continued to stymie progress at the meeting. Major themes included continuing violations of human rights by Eastern states, particularly the USSR and Poland, and the need to implement the Final Act if the CSCE process is to have lasting meaning. As was the practice throughout the course of the meeting, the U.S. delegation cited illustrative cases of human rights abuses, bringing to a total of 115 the number of names of different human rights cases in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland which have been mentioned. Other Western and NNA states also raised specific cases, so that by the end of this phase a total of 15 countries had cited a total of 121 names.

Initial plenary statements by delegates during this phase of the meeting were devoted chiefly to messages of condolence on the death of Leonid Brezhnev. Accordingly, on November 12, Ambassador Kampelman, in a brief intervention, acknowledged the Soviet leader's role as an architect of the Helsinki accords. In subsequent speeches, Ambassador Kampelman addressed several of the issues covered by the allied package of new proposals. At the November 16 plenary, Ambassador Kampelman remarked on the recent release of Lech Walesa, and characterized the decision by the Polish military authorities to destroy Solidarity as a blow to the very essence of the Final Act and various ILO conventions.

Speaking before an informal meeting of delegation heads on November 24, Ambassador Kampelman noted that November 9, the day the Madrid Meeting reconvened, marked the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group and observed that twenty-seven of the thirty group members commemorated that event behind bars. He also described recent Soviet efforts to obstruct human contacts, among these the arrest in September of Jewish activist and refusenik Feliks Kochubievsky.

The U.S. plenary statement of December 3 reaffirmed the U.S. desire to participate in genuine peace-seeking efforts, among them the proposed Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, providing a mutually acceptable, specific mandate could be worked out in Madrid. Ambassador Kampelman stated: "Our peace movements (in the West) function non-violently and are free of government

restraint. This is regrettably in stark contrast to the manner in which their counterparts are treated in the Soviet Union. There, activists for peace, just as activists for human rights, are treated as anti-Soviet agitators and imprisoned." During the same intervention, Kampelman recounted several Soviet human rights violations which, he stressed, impeded agreement in Madrid. These include the forced suspension of the activity of the Moscow Helsinki Group; Soviet efforts to sever the contacts of refuseniks and human rights activists with Western journalists, diplomats and travelers; Soviet insensitivity to the plight of divided families; the severe persecution of activist Christians, especially Evangelical Baptists; the escalating harassment of Andrei Sakharov and the dire plight of Anatoly Shcharansky.

Speaking on Human Rights Day, December 10, Ambassador Kampelman cited the heroic role of Helsinki Monitors in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe who, in his words, "at great personal sacrifice, continue to make lasting contributions to the realization of the ideals of the Helsinki Final Act."

### Sen. Dole Addresses Madrid Conference

(Continued from pg. 5)

7. And a halt to jamming of Western radio broadcasts.

#### A REALISTIC ATTITUDE

We of the United States realize that the path towards the ideals of the Helsinki Final Act is strewn with obstacles. We recognize the imperfections of our own country; we acknowledge a need to improve our own behavior. We are not afraid to admit our shortcomings. For that is the catalyst of progress, the first indispensable step on the road to achievement. Various sectors of our government as well as private individuals and organizations are engaged in continuing dialogue on how to move closer to the ideals we have espoused. Like the CSCE process itself, ours is an ongoing and earnest dialogue. Although at times our words both at home and here with you take on a sharp tone, they are far better than silence.

I challenge all of us gathered here today to seize the opportunity this moment offers for a decisive step toward enduring peace. For five days last week in Moscow, high officials of the Soviet government told me that they strongly desired a new and better relationship with us and our allies. Last night, President Reagan reaffirmed his commitment to far-reaching arms control objectives — a clear signal of our willingness, in turn, to open a new era of mutual confidence and cooperation between East and West. We can demonstrate, by concrete actions, our full good faith and our will to reach toward security and lasting freedom for all mankind.

### ETHNOCIDE OF UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR

Second edition.

Compiled by Maksym Sahaydak.

Translated and edited by Olena Saciuk and Bohdan Yasen.

Introduction by Robert Conquest.

The first issues of the leading Ukrainian underground journal to appear after the mass arrests and trials of 1972-73, they reflect a new militancy, a new determination.

Smoloskyp Publishers, 1981 (first edition published in 1976). LC 75-38397. ISBN 0-914834-45-2. 209 pages. Hardbound - \$8.95

### Lithuanians Appeal on Behalf of Terleckas

The Lithuanian Information Center reports that *The Dawn*, a samizdat publication from Lithuania, has published an appeal on behalf of Antanas Terleckas, a Lithuanian economist who is serving an eight-year term for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." The appeal states that Terleckas continues to be harassed and mistreated even in prison for refusing to collaborate with the KGB.

*The Dawn* reports that for almost one year, Terleckas was repeatedly interrogated by the authorities, confined in an isolation cell and interned with two mentally ill patients. He suffered a heart attack the first day of his trial. Despite this, he was transported with common criminals by train from Vilnius to a Perm labor camp. The trip, which should normally take three days, took 50.

In camp, Terleckas has been denied much of his mail, on the basis that it is "ideologically in error." He is constantly subject to pressures to renounce his convictions. After an August 1982 visit, his son and daughter were disheartened by his poor physical appearance and uncharacteristic nervousness.

Terleckas was a signatory to a message of greeting to Solidarity spirited out of the Perm labor camp in September 1981.

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## The Brezhnev Era in the Ukrainian S.S.R.

(LPU, Paris). When Leonid Brezhnev was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in October 1964, Petro Shelest had already been First Secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee in Ukraine for fifteen months. From a chronological point of view, the Brezhnev era was concurrent with the era of Shelest, who was the "boss" in Kiev from July 1963 to May 1972. Thus, one can say that the true Brezhnev era in the Ukrainian S.S.R. did not actually begin until early 1972, that is, with Shelest's downfall.

The year 1972 was a turning point of sorts in the postwar history of the Ukrainian S.S.R. In January of that year, a wave of arrests of members of the creative intelligentsia and leaders of the national and cultural renaissance that began in the 1960s swept over Ukraine.

The repressions of 1972 reflect the dispute between the central Party leadership in Moscow and the republic's Party hierarchy in Kiev about the "national question." It is in this context, therefore, that the evolution of events in the Ukrainian S.S.R. during the Brezhnev era should be viewed.

Western observers noted that, after the coming into power of Brezhnev and his aides, the latter reviewed the policy of assimilation — which characterized the latter years of Khrushchev's rule — abandoned slogans about the "merging of nations" and, in time, began to emphasize the so-called process of "blossoming and friendship" of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The "merging of nations" theory was deferred until some unspecified future time, a time when the utopian building of communism reached its completion. In this way, the "creation of a single Soviet people" became the new slogan, and was pronounced as "one of Moscow's national policy goals" by the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party in 1971.

Prior to this Congress, the national and cultural renaissance that had begun in the mid-fifties in Ukraine — and was reflected in the works of authors V. Symonenko, L. Kostenko, I. Drach, M. Vingranovsky, V. Stus, I. Svitlychny, I. Dzyuba, Y. Sverstyuk and composers Poklad, Ivasyuk, Kozak, Shamo and others — was evident. These writers and critics, who have entered into history under the name "shestydesyatnyky," (the "60ers") rejected the standard creative form of their older colleagues and sought their expressiveness beyond the bounds of "literary Stalinism." This movement for a national renaissance found wide support among the Ukrainian creative intelligentsia, members of the technical elite and even members of the Communist Party. The "shestydesyatnyky" placed special emphasis on the fate of the Ukrainian language and culture. Valentyn Moroz wrote about this generation:

These were people who no longer had to worry about bread or a reprieve from hunger, as in 1933. This generation attended universities; it could think about things other than the basic needs for existence. And precisely only such people could comprehend that they were living in a mire. V. Chornovil, for example, was an editor of the Komsomol newspaper in Ukraine; Ivan Dzyuba was one of the foremost critics in the Ukrainian Writers' Union; V. Stus was a post-graduate student at the Institute of Literature. In other words, these were people from the upper ranks. They were gifted peo-

ple who had foresight and could have gone far in the Communist establishment. However, these were the best people in a moral sense; they understood that to expound for the sake of their careers that in which they themselves did not believe and to watch while their people were being Russified was to sink into the mire. For this reason there arose in these people a natural yearning to extract themselves from this mire.

The question arises, to what extent did the members of the Party and state apparatus in the Ukrainian S.S.R., especially Shelest, support the aspirations of the young generation and the creative intelligentsia in Ukraine?

In the 1960s, no small effort was made in official circles to combat the residual Ukrainophobia of Stalin's time. At least a segment of the republic's bureaucratic apparatus encouraged the young to take an interest in the history of its own people. New periodicals appeared; historians and scholars began to publish new research about Ukraine's past and present. During this era they were not accused of "anti-Soviet" motives. In 1956, in fact, government circles in Kiev set about to reform the system of higher education with the intention of switching from teaching in the Russian language to the Ukrainian. Such attempts would have been impossible without the knowledge of the party leadership. These latter endeavored to integrate the "building of communism" with concern for the preservation of the national nature of Ukrainians.

This is attested to in a June 1965 issue of a Moscow samvydav newspaper, "The Political Daily." It wrote about the strengthening of "nationalistic tendencies in Ukraine with the participation of certain official, and even Party, organs."

Some regard Shelest, the then-First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, as a sympathizer of Ukrainian national communism and an autonomist. However, this is contradicted by the fact that back in 1965, the second year of his rule, the first great wave of arrests of members of the creative intelligentsia swept Ukraine.

It is possible that Shelest's removal in 1972 by the Brezhnev leadership of the Communist Party's Central Committee was caused by his opposition to the aims of implementing the official national policy of Moscow in Ukraine. However, it is also possible that he had shown a personal inability to carry out this policy.

The campaign against Shelest began in 1968 in Dnipropetrovsk after O. Honchar, the Secretary of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, published his novel *Sobor* (The Cathedral), in which he gave substance, so to speak, to the policy regarding national culture. At that time, the Secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Communist Party — which began the assault against Shelest — was O. Vatchenko, and before him, V. Shcherbytsky, both of whom were to be heirs to the party leadership in the republic. Vatchenko himself came forth with criticism of Shelest at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPSU in Moscow in May 1972. The next step of the assault was the removal of F. Ovcharenko, the leading ideologue of the Communist Party in Ukraine. In his place, the October plenary session appointed V. Malanchuk, a party hardliner without any national sentiments.

Malanchuk, who had been active in the Lviv regional party, conducted a thorough purge of the party and the

cultural-educational establishments in Ukraine, along with massive repressions against the Ukrainian intelligentsia that was targeted by the renewed ideological offensive of 1972-73.

The essence of this campaign came down to destructive criticism and accusations at so-called deviations by workers in social and humanitarian sciences, especially in the fields of history, philosophy and literature.

This campaign was officially launched by an article in the April 1973 issue of "The Communist of Ukraine," with a criticism of Shelest's book *Our Soviet Ukraine*. Shelest was accused of idealizing Ukraine's past, of self-interest, of taking a narrow view of historical and national problems, and the like — precisely those elements which could reawaken national awareness in the reader.

The Shelest affair is a classic example of the conflict between the central party apparatus and the party leadership within the individual republics, which may occasionally allow itself to deviate from the brutal national policies of Moscow. Such deviations were routinely the subject of destructive criticism by ideologues of the central leadership of the CPSU. In 1974, for example, Groshev, a Soviet ideologue and expert on the national question, wrote thus in his book *The Party's Struggle Against Nationalism*:

In the context of Soviet reality, national consciousness develops on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist world view, with an understanding of the common interests of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R., and the formation of internationally patriotic feelings among the workers. Any desire to present national consciousness apart from general international goals and to restrict it to narrow national interests and needs leads to a regression to the positions of nationalism. A narrow understanding of national consciousness leads to a faulty conception of patriotism as being love only for

one's native place and one's own republic.

The author then cites Shelest . . .

In 1976 the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party described conditions in the republic as being at a higher level of political stabilization. Moreover, in 1979 during the April plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Malanchuk was relieved of his duties as chief ideologue of the Communist Party of Ukraine in connection with "the assumption of other duties." This came as a surprise to his party colleagues, who later decided that Malanchuk was removed for "serious shortcomings in ideological-educational work." The instigator of Malanchuk's removal was V. Shcherbytsky, a loyal leader of the CPSU and Brezhnev's protégé.

While continuing brutal repressions against the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Shcherbytsky is at the same time attempting to secure the support of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, especially writers, many of whom, after the latest assaults and repressions, have again been permitted to publish their works. They include: I. Bilyk, R. Ivanychuk, B. Kravchenko, M. Kosiv, S. Telnyuk, L. Kostenko and others. One may surmise, therefore, that Malanchuk's removal was a sacrifice that Shcherbytsky had to make at the demand of the intelligentsia.

Even at the slightest display of national activity, however, the assault on national rights continues today in even more severe form. CPSU policy with regard to the national question in the republics is carried out by local party cadres, chosen and checked out by the central party apparatus. Their work is controlled by the Second Secretaries, who, because they are "second," follow in reality the political outlook of the First Secretaries. They are always chosen from among the Russian population. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the policy on the national question will not change after Brezhnev's death, because it is the fundamental basis upon which the Russian Communist empire exists.



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## REPRESSION IN THE U.S.S.R. — A STUDY

Thomas Oleszczuk, a professor in the Department of Political Science at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey, has issued a preliminary set of findings regarding the Soviet system of repression. In a paper presented to a conference of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in Washington, D.C. on October 16, 1982, Mr. Oleszczuk analyzed the arrests, trials and sentencing of Lithuanian dissidents on the basis of four theories used in analyzing Western judicial systems. Printed below are excerpts from Mr. Oleszczuk's work:

By Thomas Oleszczuk

This article examines the correlates of sentencing of political prisoners in one limited area, the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, in order to determine what may be the determinant factors in the intensity of such repression of dissent. It discovers that the judicial system's handling of these "political cases" is far less arbitrary or capricious than one would expect: there are clear patterns in socio-economic, demographic and behavioral dimensions of dissent. Thus, the judicial apparatus does implement a politically determined policy of repression, but it does so in a fairly sophisticated and "rational" way.

Much ink has been spent on analysis of the broad patterns of change in the Soviet political system since the death of Stalin. Numerous accounts suggest that the country is a far less arbitrary and terror-ridden place than in the 1930s and late 1940s. It has been suggested that the system is "post-totalitarian," that the use of coercion is far less widespread and far more discriminating, that organizational and propagandistic levers of the regime are more critical to its survival now than is the pillar of force. Indeed, those who typically use the idea of "bureaucracy" or "technocracy" generally imply that the entire society is becoming more, rather than less, similar to highly industrialized societies of the West, with all that that may entail about the rise of interest groups, increasing tolerance of criticism, and the transformation of the polity into something more responsive.

At the same time, the darker side of the Soviet polity remains, and Western scholars continue to recognize that. There is an increasing literature on the attempts of various groups within the Soviet Union to defy the CPSU and develop their own "counterculture" in opposition to the "new Soviet man" of unquestioning obedience to the current party line. Those groups of dissidents, whose demands range from simply being left alone to pray to secession from the USSR, have in various degrees brought down the power of the apparatus upon themselves as they are arrested and punished (even though the leadership may grant certain concessions to other groups or even to individuals in the same group). It is one of the unsurprising but still useful findings of Western literature that the dissent of Soviet citizens leads to repression, which in turn leads to further dissent, in a "vicious circle."

There is a mammoth of literature on the working of Western (and particularly the American) judicial systems, especially on the question of sentencing. One recent overview of that literature suggests the preponderance of four theories about the factors that go into the decision to send an accused to jail. These four theories are "labelling," "conflict," "legal consensus," and "prosecutory subsystem." They involve the nature of the action for which the accused is brought to trial, the class or social background of the individual, the offense charged, and finally the characteristics of the prosecutory/probationary subsystems of the judicial system (who are the prosecutors, what

are their internal pressures, etc.). In the current context, each of the four theories provides a basis on which to present some hypotheses about the sentencing of political prisoners, hypotheses implied by more general works on dissent and repression in the Soviet Union.

### Models and Hypotheses

The first theory of sentencing — that the activity of and values held by the deviant are the critical factors — may be seen to be applicable to the Soviet dissident case in that the regime may be responding to the type of dissent (and the perceived threat to the regime's core legitimating values). Thus, one would expect that dissidents espousing demands more contrary to the extant system may be dealt with more harshly. National and human rights dissent are perceived by the Soviet government to involve "the national sovereignty" and "territorial integrity" of the Soviet Union directly and indirectly: either nationalism can lead to demands for secession, or human rights platforms may produce further international pressures and "interference" in the "internal affairs" of the Soviet government. Moreover, the past history of the Baltic republics does suggest that this prospect is not so far fetched because of the real attempts of the Lithuanians, for example, to oppose incorporation into the USSR in the 1940s and into the 1950s. Fragmentary data from 1978-1980 indicate that Lithuanian (and Ukrainian) nationalists do "usually draw the longest sentences."

On the other hand, religion may not be seen as quite so threatening if the organization of the religious can be monitored and (perhaps) penetrated by secret agents, unless the religious dissident also has ties to nationalist or human rights groups. Thus, one might expect sentences given to nationalist, human rights, and mixed (or "hybrid") dissidents to be higher than those given to religious dissidents.

The "conflict" theory of sentencing hypothesizes that the class and social background status of the defendant (and his implied degree of potential prestige and power) are the important variables. In the current case, there may be two types of such "conflict" effects. First, the age, sex, and social class of the dissident may have an aggravating impact on harsh sentences: youth, women, and non-intellectuals (especially peasants, workers, and clerics) have the least social influence and thus receive longer sentences than middle-aged, male intellectuals.

Crime statistics put out in professional Soviet journals show such a pattern only for occupational groups... According to Amnesty International, "it is difficult to detect a coherent pattern of leniency for such persons [as women or youth]" in political cases.

There may be some reluctance on the part of the regime to appear to discriminate against workers, given the party's punitive claim to the vanguard role in the proletarian revolution. This constraint will likely operate only to a limited extent, if at all, because of the party's rejection of any political challenge even from within the working class.

The "legal consensus" theory of sentencing involves the nature of the offense — its "seriousness" as defined by law. The official interpretation is that the "gravity of the crime" is one of the most important considerations in sentencing. Thus, the nature of the dissident act that "triggered" arrest and prosecution (and for which the individual is charged) is officially supposed to be significant. Moreover, if "political offenders" were treated like others in the process, then the articles of the criminal code upon which charges were made would be the major determinants of length of sentence. Articles carrying higher maximum camp terms (like Articles 64-70, the "especially dangerous crimes against the state") could be expected to produce higher sentences on the average than less severe charges. Finally, the prior criminal record can be seen as important in the legal consensus: recidivism would be viewed negatively, and prior trials (or arrests or prior dissident activity) would be contributory factors in higher sentences.

The fourth theory, that of the prosecutory and probationary subsystems, seems at first to be almost immune to possible investigation from afar. Without close examination of the operations of the Procuracy and judgeships, including interviews with the principals, it would seem impossible to address this area. However, it seems clear that the courts too are subject to such "guidelines" for political cases. These guidelines may change most dramatically with turnover in the top leadership. Thus, the Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev eras may lead to differing levels of punishment overall, along with changes in the criminal code, etc.

### Choice of Case

The data for this study were collected from several samizdat and Western sources.

The Lithuanian Republic has been chosen for analysis for several reasons. First, it is the home of a thriving samizdat activity that dates back to 1972, activity that not only is unbroken despite several rounds of trials directed specifically against the main journal (the *Chronicles of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*), but activity that has steadily increased over the ensuing years. This contrasts to the best-known center of dissent, Moscow, in which there appeared a lull in samizdat activity in the 1972-74 period, as a result of threats by the KGB against those already in custody. Second, the size of the Lithuanian "dissident movement" (established at one fifth of the population by Lubarisky 1979, for example) makes it one of the most important parts of the Soviet dissident scene, and as such, one of the major targets of concern for the Soviet coercive apparatus. Third, there is in-

creasing scholarly literature now appearing on this dissident movement and the response of the regime to it. Finally, the Lithuanian case has features that make it an interesting base of comparison to other groups in the Soviet Union and the world: nationalism, religious discontent, linguistic differentiation, and a concern for human rights are all elements to be found in the demands of the Lithuanian dissidents, and the regime's answers to them are prototypic of the answers of governmental authorities (most especially dictatorships): coercion in various forms. . . .

### Findings Who was Tried?

It is clear from the reportage that the model defendant in political trials is male (over 85%), Lithuanian in nationality (98% or higher), Roman Catholic (more than 70%), resident in the major urban areas (70% or more in rayon capitals), and more likely than not either participating in nationalist dissent or in some combination almost always involving nationalism in some degree (87% or more).

There are some differences in the social position of the defendant: in the first two periods (1941-1953, 1954-1964), the most prevalent group was the Roman Catholic clergy, but in the most recent period (1965-1981), over half were either workers or intellectuals, with a slight bias toward workers. However, one cannot put too much faith in these differences because of the clear under-reporting in the earlier periods. What can be suggested by these figures, nonetheless, is a clear "preference" for the Procurator to move against males, Lithuanians, Catholics, urban nationalists, regardless of the period. The more accessible question is: to what degree do these target groups suffer disproportionately, once in the docket, in the denouement of the judicial proceedings?

### Differential Sentencing

There are considerable differences in average sentence along all the demographic and cultural dimensions mentioned above.

Males receive sentences three times as long as females, Lithuanians receive sentences twice as long as non-Lithuanians, there is a large range in the averages among the differing occupational groups (from 2.6 years for students to 16.7 for peasants), and nationalists (especially when combined with another type of dissent) receive as much as three times the camp and exile terms as either religious or human rights activists.

These differences would suggest that the first two models of sentencing, based on the deviant label attached to the dissidents and the potential group conflict implied by the dissident's

(Continued on pg. 12)

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# REPRESSION IN THE U.S.S.R. — A STUDY

(Continued from pg. 11)

background — would be the ones appropriate for understanding the Soviet Lithuanian case. However, a closer look at the features of dissident acts for which the dissidents were tried, and the articles under which they were sentenced, reveals the usefulness of the legal consensus model, based on the nature of the deviant act in the context of Soviet legal norms.

Important, but seemingly contradictory relationships exist between the length of sentence and prior record. For prior dissident acts: the more extensive prior record, the longer the criminal punishment, but the number of prior arrests or trials is inversely related to sentence. Each subsequent arrest or trial leads to an additional but LOWER sentence. This is certainly an artifact of the general decline in sentences, for second through fourth trials must occur after first trials and are therefore more prominent in later years.

On the other hand, it is clear from the data that charge is vital to sentencing. An examination of the average sentence given for each of several major articles of the criminal code (here translated to the more widely recognized equivalents in the RSFSR Criminal Code) suggest that this aspect of legal consensus plays a very important role. Indeed, the highest averages are for treason, either the old Article 58 (with its 25-year maximum incarceration — and empirical average of 22.5 years) or its post-1957 replacement, Article 64 (with its 15-year limit — and average of 13.5 years).

In addition, the nature of the trigger act — the degree to which the legal consensus was violated along certain dimensions — seems to be also a factor. If the act was violent, not highly politicized (being a personalized expression of non-policy or non-structural discontent, as in spontaneous soccer riots), or did not involve what could be interpreted as a small conspiracy, the resultant punishment was lighter than in the converse cases.

The big surprise here is the inverse relationship between violence and sentence. This is probably due to the fact that most of the violent acts were spontaneous riots, rather than conspiratorial or individual acts, and thus the factor of number of participants was important in those cases. Clearly in the dimensions just enumerated, the sentence was something more than the simple reaction to the "violation" of the law.

The last model — that of the prosecutory process — would suggest that more political variables are necessary to explain sentencing. Indeed, if one examines the averages over the time period, whether yearly or aggregated into leadership eras, there is a noticeable change.

Generally, the examination of the average sentences by groups has shown important differences on all the variables

of interest, with some particular differences somewhat surprising (as in the "violence of the dissident act" variable). Further, more sophisticated investigation of all these variables is necessary.

strongest mitigation of sentence seems to have occurred during the relatively liberal Khrushchev period.

In the Stalin period, the other major correlates to sentencing were sex and

**Table 5**  
**Correlations with Sentencing**

Model	Variable	Col. 1 Overall	Col. 2 1941-1953	Col. 3 1954-1964	Col. 4 1965-1981
Labelling	Nationalist	.193*	-.172	.300*	.240*
	Human Rights	-.091	-.209	-.092	-.046
	Religious	-.318*	-.373*	-.654*	-.278*
	Hybrid	.164*	-.063	6.14	.010
Conflict	Sex	-.207*	-.486*	-.178	-.198*
	Birth year	-.458*	-.147	-.170	-.474*
	Residence	.583	-.505*	-.158	-.193+
	Stratum	-.112	-.046	.309	.141
	Catholic	.047	0	0	0
	Legal Consensus				
Legal Consensus	Charge severity	.759*	.454*	.712*	.791*
	Prior dissident acts	-.020	0	1	-.121
	Prior arrest	-.238*	.170	-.286+	-.187+
	Prior trial	-.157*	.139	-.127	-.096
	Violent act	-.124	0	0	-.029
	Politicized act	-.124	0	-1	.091
	Numbers in act	-.009	0	-1	.002
	Prosecutory process				
Prosecutory process	Trial year	-.666*	.497*	-.559*	-.477*

\*Significant at  $\alpha=0.05$  level or better.

+Significant at  $\alpha=0.10$ , but not at  $\alpha=0.05$ .

N.B.

Correlations of comparable magnitudes may differ in levels of significance because of the different numbers of cases

for which data is available for the calculations. I.e., the values of some variables are missing more often than for others and this fact produces differing numbers of cases that cannot be used in correlations of those variables.

## Correlates of Political Justice

In order to assess the relative impact of each of the variables that seem to be important, we will now look at the statistic that suggests the degree to which the variable in question provides a steady predictor of the sentence.

Table 5, column 1 (showing the correlations for the variables discussed above), shows that the type of dissent (whether it is nationalist, religious or hybrid), the sex and birth year of the dissident, the severity of charge, date of dissenting act, number of prior arrests and trials, and the year of trial are all more important than the others. These items are all "statistically significant," given the number of cases available for analysis. The highest correlations are those for charge severity (0.759), trial date (-0.666), and birth year (-0.387). These correlations imply that the most important factors are related to the legal consensus of criminal article and to historically rooted interpretations of the need for punishment of varying degrees. Thus it makes considerable sense to disaggregate the trials into major time periods and re-examine the correlations.

By this simple action (see cols. 2-4 of Table 5), we discover the differing dynamics of sentencing under the three leaderships. Only charge severity and religious dissent remain consistent over all three periods: being charged with a lesser crime or being a religious dissident is associated with lower sentences than the converse of either, albeit the

year of trial. That suggests that Stalinist courts did consider sex and lowered sentence. An unsuspected "humanitarianism" seems present here. On the other hand, the positive correlation of trial year to sentence means that there was a clear deterioration of dissident condition in the courts as the years went on (the higher the date, the higher the sentence). This deterioration may have been the product either of increasingly frustrating anti-Soviet activity in Lithuania during the last years of Stalin's life, or of greater perception of potential threat from these dissidents, given the more hostile international climate. Unfortunately, the data are too sparse to yield any significant findings on this. What can be said is that the dissidents received harsher and harsher penalties in the Stalin period.

In the Khrushchev period of "de-Stalinization," with its calls for increased "socialist legality," it is not surprising to find the "legal consensus" variable of charge severity to have almost twice as high a correlation with sentence as it did in the Stalin years. Moreover, it is entirely predictable that the correlation to trial year (as a "prosecutory process" variable) should be strongly negative, as the retreat from Stalinism picked up steam in this period. The combination of the two factors produces a negative correlation between sentence and prior arrest, as former camp-internees returned to a liberalized, but ultimately unfree environment and were sentenced a second time, but to lesser penalties.

However, there are two surprises for the Khrushchev period. First, the "humanitarianism" of the Stalin regime toward women declines to such a degree that the correlation is no longer statistically significant. This sharp edge of the Khrushchev reform period has never been suspected before. It indicates that political toughness accompanied de-Stalinization. Such a toughness might well have brought on a "re-compression," had Khrushchev survived politically in 1964. Second, the "labelling" variables of nationalist dissent and religious dissent are markedly higher, with the former achieving its

first levels of significance. The Khrushchev leadership clearly differentiated between these two dissident groups and came down heavily on nationalism, while treating religion even more lightly than had been the case in Stalin's time. The closer adherence to "socialist legality" thus in no way interfered with some policy changes of note in punishing dissent.

In the Brezhnev period, the Khrushchevite patterns continued, although the size of correlations declined somewhat (except for charge severity). To that extent, "de-Khrushchevization" was not a reversal of sentencing policies. It was a slight "moderating" of the changes that the post-Stalinist collective leadership wrought. Indeed, even the general decline in sentencing continued with almost the same consistency as under that leadership (correlation of -.477).

Nonetheless, there are noticeable differences, new additions to the correlates of sentencing by which the judicial process is made more "sophisticated" in its treatment of dissidents. These additions are in the "conflict" variables of sex and age, and convey the impression of a return to some element of humanitarianism. Women and younger people are given significantly lighter sentences, in line with the parts of the criminal code that allow for such "tolerance."

Thus, our analysis of political sentencing in Lithuania suggest some common elements throughout the post-war period, namely the close relationship of criminal code article to sentence, and the relatively light repression of religious dissent. Nonetheless, there are marked changes over time, and both continuity and discontinuity can be discerned in the three time periods.

"De-Stalinization" can be seen in sentencing in 1954-64, at the same time as a toughness and more systematic targeting of type of dissent are evident. Those patterns were continued in slightly attenuated form after Khrushchev's ouster, with a return to the element of "humanitarianism" in lessened penalties for youth and women.

## Concluding Remarks:

### Future Research

It is possible that some variables outside the framework of the four models may be of critical importance. For example, there is the question of "external publics" in the West, external publics whose interest may in some sense "protect" certain ethnic and religious groups. Since Western interest is highly focused on certain ethnic and religious groups, one needs to compare these groups systematically, including careful measurement of Western interest and activity, measurement which is very difficult. Of course, this "external public" variable can become confounded with the variable of dissident "self-defense": the repression of individuals may be less if the group to which they belong can (and does) respond by more widespread and more intense dissent. In the Soviet case, the most active groups, which could provide their members with the greatest such "self-defense", are also those with the greatest international exposure. It might not be feasible to disentangle these two elements, but the effort to do so would prove instructive. Aggregate levels of group dissent and group repression may produce a different picture of repression policy, while measures of Western human rights initiatives may show them to be mainly symbolic, without any substantive impact, even allowing for some "multicollinearity" with dissident activity.

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## WITH ANDROPOV'S ASCENT — A RETURN TO STALINISM?

By Osyp Zinkewych

The ascent of former KGB chief Yuriy Andropov to the pinnacle of power in the U.S.S.R., expected by most Sovietologists after the death of Leonid Brezhnev, was followed by a torrent of highly dubious information about the man who — despite his advanced years and noticeably accelerated aging of late — will be playing, for a considerable period of time, a leading role in East-West relations.

All the reports in the Western media about Andropov the liberal, the lover of Western music and literature, about his long talks with Soviet dissidents at his dacha somewhere near Moscow, about

an upcoming decision to allow Andrei Sakharov to emigrate, etc., etc., — all of this in a very short time was shown to be nothing but typical Soviet disinformation.

Soon after he consolidated his power (though he still has not completely eliminated all opposition), Andropov showed his true face, which in no way differs from that of Andropov the KGB chief of a few years ago.

The timing of several sets of events indicates that the Soviet internal politics of repression have been elevated to a new level, marked by a cruelty that can only be compared to that of the years 1937-38 of the Stalin era.

### *The Fight Against Dissent*

Today there can be no doubt that the KGB (as well as the regular Soviet police, the *militsiya*) have intensified their reliance on chemical and psychological methods with the aim of breaking dissidents and forcing them into public confessions, thus striking a physical and moral blow against the resistance movement.

After a brief respite that lasted for a few months following Brezhnev's death, there came a new wave of confessions, first in Russia, then in Ukraine and several other republics. One after another, Russian human rights activists V. Repin, R. Yevdokimov, V. Dolinin, and B. Manilovich appeared on Leningrad television. Repin, an administrator of the Solzhenitsyn Fund to aid families of political prisoners, in his statement gave the names of over 20 other Soviet citizens, nine emigrants and nine foreigners. He tied in the fund with the CIA, thus discrediting many innocent people and the institution itself. Even after this confession, Repin was

not released, but was put on trial on a charge of "treason," which carries a penalty of death or 15 years of imprisonment. (At the trial, however, the prosecutor, citing Repin's recantation, asked for a minimum sentence.)

Yevdokimov and Dolinin were first sentenced to long terms of imprisonment; several days after their trial they made public confessions. (This is what happened in Ukraine many years ago with Ivan Dzyuba, who held up well at his trial; several months afterwards, after being sentenced to a lengthy prison term, he broke down under tremendous physical and psychological pressure and "confessed" in return for a suspended sentence.) In the Yevdokimov case, not everything went as the regime would have liked. While on the first day of his trial he almost shone, and showed no indication towards compromise, much less a confession, over the next four-five days of the trial his face took on a sickly-gray pallor, his hair

(Continued on pg. 10)

### IN WHOSE INTERESTS?

## A UKRAINIAN DEATH IN AFGHANISTAN

By Bohdan Yasen

The invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet forces has turned into a lasting war waged by the U.S.S.R. against the Afghan people. Although Soviet newspapers, radio and television ignore this war, news about the thousands of Soviet soldiers killed or wounded in Afghanistan still reaches the population. The cemeteries sprout new graves with troubling inscriptions on the headstones: "Born 1962 [or 1961, or 1963] — died 1982 [or 1981, or 1983]." There are no epitaphs saying, "He died a

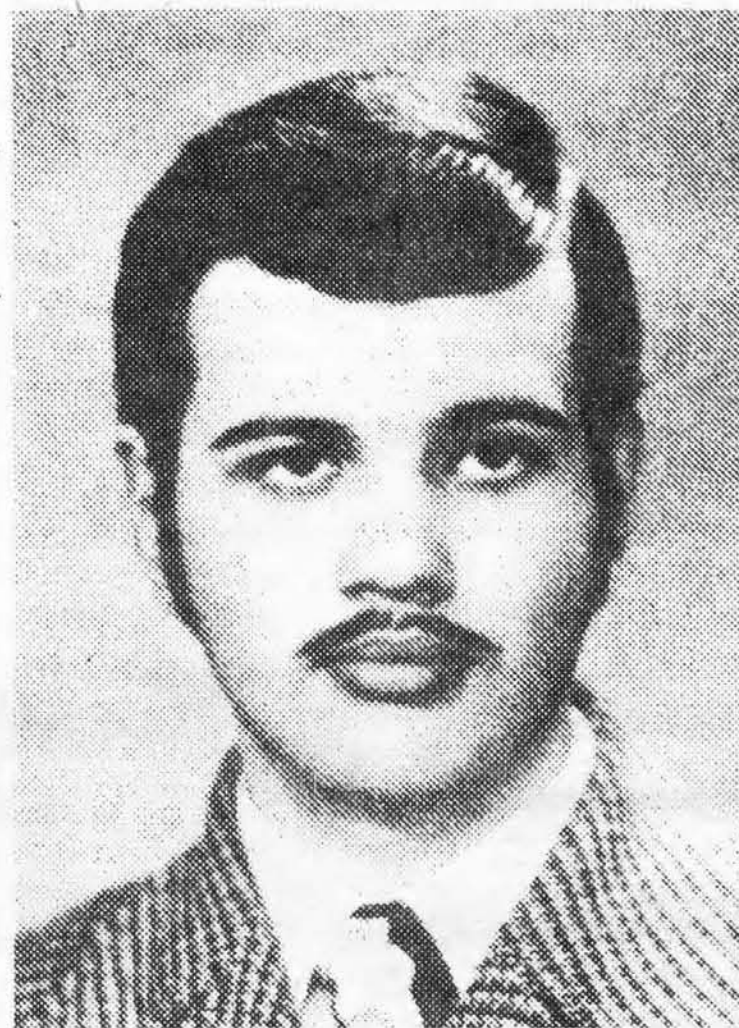
and villages, leaflets and graffiti with anti-war messages are beginning to appear with ever-greater frequency.

The growing resentment among the population and open expressions of opposition to the war in Afghanistan are forcing the regime slowly to change its position and its war policies. It is being forced to try to take the war issue to the people, somehow to transform this predatory, imperialistic war into a "patriotic" war, to stir up nationalistic feelings among its Russian soldiers and win the population's support for the conduct of the war.

In Ukraine, the regime took its first step towards this end by publishing in the youth magazine *Ranok* (The Dawn, No. 5, 1983) a lengthy feature about Oleksander Stovba, a young soldier from Dniprodzerzhynsk who died in a battle with Afghan insurgents. Titled "Having Equated Pen with Bayonet," it told the story of "the warrior-poet, Oleksander Stovba, who, while doing his internationalist duty in the land of Afghanistan, saved his comrades at the price of his own life."

This was the first instance in Ukraine of the regime's making a hero out of a soldier, dead or alive, who had fought in Afghanistan. Hundreds and thousands have died in Afghanistan, but the honor fell to Stovba, a young lieutenant. He was posthumously awarded the Order of Lenin and given a grand burial. A small collection of his Russian-language poems was rushed into print in an edition of 5000, which was sold out the very first day (buyers were expecting, perhaps, to learn something about the invasion of Afghanistan); his deeds were praised at the XXIV Congress of the Komsomol organization in Ukraine.

(Continued on pg. 10)



Oleksander Stovba

hero's death in Afghanistan." Yet it is clear to everyone, whose graves these are, why and where these youths of 19 and 23 died. Thousands of wounded young men, invalids for life, return to their towns and villages. In some cities

## A Letter from Soviet Political Prisoners to President Reagan

The following letter was written some time in the summer or fall of 1982, but reached the West just recently. The appeal, urging President Reagan to help create an international commission to inspect detention camps in all countries, including the Soviet Union, was signed by ten Soviet political prisoners of various nationalities, all of whom are confined in camp No. 36 of the vast labor camp complex near the city of Perm.

The letter was first published in the "Freedom Appeals" (*Freedom at Issue*), May-June, 1983. The document was translated from the Russian by Ludmilla Thorne, Editor, of the Center for Appeals for Freedom at Freedom House. The External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, upon receiving the letter, sent a copy to President Reagan on March 12.

Dear Mr. President:

It is often difficult for a person living in the West to imagine the atmosphere of lawlessness in which the inmates of Soviet political prison camps must live. During the past period of time (end of 1981 — first half of 1982) the conditions of our imprisonment have worsened so sharply that we feel compelled to appeal to you. It is probable that this "tightening of the screws," or, "clampdown," as it was called during the Stalin years, is a result of specific instances where the regime has disgraced itself (Poland, Afghanistan) and of the general crisis that the system is undergoing; cruelty and absurdity, the

inevitable companions of a tyranny growing decrepit, today permeate all spheres of our life and all aspects of our prison existence.

On April 18, 1982 prisoners Myroslav Marynovych, Viktor Nikipelov, and Mykola Rudenko were dragged away from a humble prison table at which fourteen prisoners had gathered to celebrate Easter with prayer and an Easter meal, and they were thrown into a punishment cell, for half a month as "organizers of a mob gathering." Strange as it may seem, the celebration of Christ's Resurrection was regarded as a "mob gathering" that had to be dispersed. It is difficult for us to imagine

that there can exist another prison in the world, in which the observance of a religious ritual would be punishable by incarceration in a cruel punishment cell. Even in 1932, the authorities at Stalin's Solovky special-regime camp permitted not only the Easter service, but even the procession with the cross that precedes the Easter Mass.

On February 13, 1982, Mykola Rudenko, a World War II invalid with a severe spinal injury, was deprived of his invalid status for no known reason and thereby declared capable of performing heavy manual labor. We can only assume that this was done because a collection of his poems appeared in the West. In March of 1982, the prisoner Vladimir Balakhonov was deprived of a visit with his daughter on completely absurd and immoral grounds — namely, his failure to fulfill his work quota. This was to have been his first visit in ten years.

The use of punishment cells as a form of persecution is becoming commonplace, a part of our everyday life. After all, anyone can be thrown there for any, even the most insignificant, reason: a button left undone, leaving the work site ten minutes before the end of the shift (even if the prisoner had already met his daily work quota), or even, as

happened in the case of the prisoner Aleksandr Ogorodnikov, who was already confined in a punishment cell, for sharing a spoonful of soup with a cellmate who was to have to spend the day on bread and water under the conditions of his regime.

Just as frequently and readily we are deprived of what is most precious to us — visits with our relatives. Since visits are allowed not once a week or once a month, but once a year, this constitutes a very harsh punishment indeed. Between February and April 1982, Viktor Nitsoo and others had their visits with relatives cancelled under various ridiculous pretexts. Oles Shevchenko, for example, lost his visit for celebrating Easter, among other reasons. After travelling thousands of kilometers to the camp, relatives of Genrikh Altunian, Norair Grigorian, and Aleksandr Ogorodnikov were turned back and not permitted to meet with the prisoners. In the first instance, there was allegedly no available room for the meeting; Norair Grigorian was tucked away in a punishment cell on the eve of his expected visit; and Aleksandr Ogorodnikov's wife was told that she could not meet with her husband because their marriage had

(Continued on pg. 2)



# SMOLOSKYP

A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN  
UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE

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## THE UKRAINIAN FAMINE: A MATTER FOR REMEMBRANCE

Ukrainians this year mark the 50th anniversary of a great tragedy that befell their nation — the death of at least seven million Ukrainian peasants in an artificial famine, planned and carried out in 1932-33 by the Communist regime in Moscow. They mourn the innocent victims of this crime, they yearn to heal the still-festering wound on the soul and body of their nation. And — 50 years after the deed was done — they still hope to get the world to understand and acknowledge the great blow their nation has suffered.

For Ukrainians, to have the world recognize their Holocaust is to begin the process of healing the trauma. But what matter to the rest of the world if the Ukrainian tragedy continues to be ignored now, as it was then? (While some members of the Western media participated in a deliberate cover-up of the enormity of the tragedy, there were also exceptions, as the pictures elsewhere in this paper indicate.)

A wound festering on the body of a 50-million strong nation cannot be inconsequential to the rest of the world. The wound of the World War I genocide of Armenians that has not healed makes us all poorer and weaker. And how many more Cambodians does our planet need — the calculated slaying of two million Cambodians by Communist "reformers" and "society builders"? Before the Cambodia of 1977-78, however, there was Ukraine of 1932-33, a lesson begging to be learned. In both countries Communist "revolutionaries" building a "new society" eliminated whole segments of the population. In both cases the world was initially all too willing to forgive "excesses"; revolutions, after all, are said to be not without cost. In Ukraine the cost turned out to be at least seven million human lives, seven million human beings dying what is perhaps the most agonizing kind of death, slow death by starvation.

Has anything been learned? Perhaps not. The Western media is still reluctant to acknowledge the extent of the Ukrainian tragedy and to consider why it was so greatly underreported 50 years ago. The *Washington Post*, for example, covered a pathetic, if not quite hostile, report (in stark contrast to its voluminous, daily coverage of the recent reunion in the U.S. capital of Jewish Holocaust survivors).

Perhaps the upcoming book by Prof. Robert Conquest and Prof. James Mace on the Famine will help take the Ukrainian tragedy out of the realm of "the alleged" and into the realm of history lessons that need to be learned, lest they be repeated.

Who needs to learn this lesson most? Not the tyrants of history, past and future, not the perpetrators of these heinous crimes against humanity. They will go on doing their bloody work, no matter what history might tell them. The lesson needs to be learned by the rest of us, potential victims all, by all who consider themselves a part of the family of man and who see every nation's Holocaust as a blight on all of mankind.

The commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine will continue for most of this year, including a memorial concert in Washington's Kennedy Center October 2. How these events are received, especially by the leaders and media of the Free World, will show whether we have learned anything or whether the next Great Famine, the next Holocaust, is just a matter of time.

## A Letter to President Reagan

(Continued from pg. 1)

been registered only in church.

Repressions and privations stalk us at every step. Our correspondence is subjected to the harshest ideological censorship, our letters are shamelessly confiscated (for this to happen, it is enough for a letter to be deemed "suspicious in content") or they "disappear along the way." Not a single letter from abroad has reached the camp in the last several years. Since those who send letters themselves become "suspicious," on the whole, only letters from family members get through the censor's fine sieve.

The confiscations conducted in the camp are absurd and blasphemous: poems are confiscated from poets, written prayers from believers. The authorities confiscated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from the prisoner Viktor Nekipelov for also being "suspicious in content." It was sent to him by his wife in a letter. The Bible and other religious literature is prohibited in the camp and they have been confiscated from prisoners. The hunt for the written word is being carried to such absurd lengths that every scrap of paper is wrenched from our hands, every handwritten line.

There are frequent instances which might be called ideological revenge. A prisoner's independent stance and his participation in collective protests, especially signing human rights documents and appeals which might be published in the West, leave him open to a wide range of repressions — up to and including several months of imprisonment in the camp prison or even several years in the special prison in the city of Chistopol. For example, one of the real reasons for incarcerating the prisoner Dan Arenberg in Chistopol prison in September 1981 was his attempt to send a congratulatory telegram (in a perfectly legal manner!) to Prime Minister Begin of Israel on the occasion of his election.

As far as publication abroad is concerned, at this very moment KGB officers are conducting interrogations among prisoners in connection with the appeal which we sent to you last year, Mr. President, upon your inauguration. Antanas Terleckas was warned that he and the other authors of this appeal might receive new prison terms for their participation.

Punishment were meted out to all sixteen members of the "strike of despair," which took place because the camp authorities refused to call a specialist to examine Viktor Nekipelov, who was critically ill with acute nephritis and who was failing rapidly. In the end the prisoners' demand was met and a physician arrived, but at a very high cost

to all those involved. Ten strikers were placed in the punishment cell, from where three of them — Genrikh Altunian, Aleksandr Ogorodnikov and Mykola Rudenko — were transferred to the camp prison. A month later, Viktor Nekipelov was also taken there directly from his hospital bed, and the prisoner Yuriy Fedorov was transferred back to a special-regime camp.

A list of similar examples of lawlessness could be continued without end, Mr. President. They are so widespread that it is no longer merely a question of violating human rights, but of premeditated inhumanity, of physical and psychological torture, of terrorizing the spirit and exhibiting moral contempt for culture.

This forces us to raise an issue which our predecessors have been raising for 10 to 15 years now, namely, international inspection of Soviet political prison camps. An impartial commission of independent and politically unaffiliated Western humanitarians — writers and lawyers — after visiting camps in Ulster, South Africa, the Soviet Union, or in any country, could draw an authoritative conclusion about the contingent of prisoners in a given country and, consequently, about the moral right of that particular country's government to condemn others for using imprisonment to suppress dissent.

Knowing of your resoluteness in the defense of freedom and humanity in the world, Mr. President, we appeal to you to support the creation of such a commission. We would like your "Project Truth" to include facts about Soviet political prison camps. By whatever means may be best suitable to you, be it the Madrid Conference or direct talks, you could assist in ridding the world of this cruel foulness. The existence of political prisoners in our enlightened age is as much an anachronism as the slave trade. Those who have championed the primacy of morality in the entire world have long since realized that no measures or spheres of trust can be extended to a country that incarcerates in prisons and camps its political, national, religious and moral opposition.

Very respectfully yours,  
Prisoners of Perm camp  
No. 36 in Kuchino:

Genrikh Altunian  
Vladimir Balakhonov  
Norair Grigorian  
Myroslav Marynovych  
Viktor Nekipelov  
Viktor Niitsoo  
Aleksandr Ogorodnikov  
Mykola Rudenko  
Oles Shevchenko  
Antanas Terleckas

## FOR AN END TO RUSSIAN COLONIALISM IN SPORT

Among the major international sport events taking place this year are the first World Championships in track and field (in Finland), the XII World University Games (Edmonton, Canada) and the World Youth Soccer Cup (Mexico). As in past Olympiads and other festivals of sport at the highest international level, neither Ukraine, nor Byelorussia will be represented by their own teams, though both are members of the United Nations. Nor will the Baltic countries of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, though before World War II each had its own national Olympic Committee, was a member of the International Olympic Committee and fielded independent teams in the Olympics and other international sporting events. Furthermore, their forced annexation to the Soviet Union has never been recognized by the U.S. and many other countries of the world.

It is in the area of sport that Russian chauvinism and Soviet imperialism are perhaps more clearly evident than in any other aspect of international relations. In the United Nations, UNESCO, the Inter-Parliamentary Union and other bodies, Ukraine and Byelorussia are acknowledged as independent and sovereign states. These two countries, however, as well as the three Baltic states, have been completely excluded from the IOC, the International Federation of Football Associations, the International Athletic Federation, the International Chess Federation and other sports governing bodies.

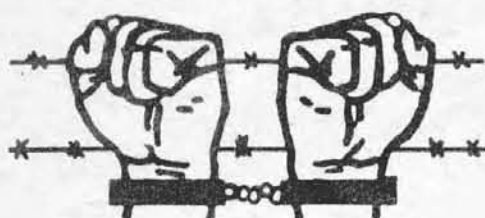
When the chauvinists and the colonizers need votes at the U.N., Ukraine and Byelorussia qualify not only as "independent" but also "sovereign" countries. But when the prizes are gold medals and the prestige that comes with victory in interna-

tional athletic competition, then Ukraine and Byelorussia are stripped of their "independence" and "sovereignty" and are incorporated into one "Soviet" state entity, their athletes melted into a single team representing the "Soviet people."

It is in sports that we can most clearly see the Soviet policy of ethnocide — the forcible denationalization of separate, distinct peoples, the destruction of their cultures, language and traditions, the creation of one artificial Russified "Soviet people." Athletes of the non-Russian nationalities within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are forced to compete not for the glory of their own people but for that of their oppressors. Many are reluctant to stress their national identity, out of fear that the KGB will hang the "nationalist" label on them, which will weigh like a millstone around their necks for the duration of their careers and lives. (This is the reason why most will not even agree to being interviewed in their native language by correspondents of the same nationality living in the West.)

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico regularly exercises its right to field its own athletic teams, under its own flag, in international sporting events, including the Olympic Games. Yes, the same Puerto Rico that the Soviet Union and Cuba cite as an example when screeching about U.S. imperialism and colonialism. Why is the U.S.S.R. allowed to continue its policy of national discrimination, imperialism and colonial exploitation in sports? When will the IOC and other international governing bodies finally act to remove this ugly stain from sport and allow athletes of Ukraine, Byelorussia, and the Baltic states their rightful place in the sports arenas of the world?





# POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

## UKRAINE:

1. Ahlychev, Valentyn Y. Born 1948; Baptist; sentenced in Crimea on February 4, 1983, to 2-1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

2. Bat, Polenya. Member of the group "Penitents," sentenced in 1982.

3. Bondar, Lidiya T. Born August 20, 1935; Baptist, arrested April 20, 1982; sentenced in Lviv in February 1983 to 3 years' imprisonment.



Lidiya Bondar

4. Chyslov, B.S. Jehovah's Witness from Torez, Donetsk Region; sentenced January 1983 to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

5. Derkach, Pavlo B. Born 1931; Baptist; sentenced in February 1983 to one year of imprisonment for religious activity.

6. Ivanov, M.T. Miner; Jehovah's Witness from Torez, Donetsk Region; sentenced January 1983 to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

7. Karpuk, Viktor I. Born 1952; Baptist; sentenced in Mykolayiv in February 1983 to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

8. Kavatsiv, Vasyl M. Born 1934; Ukrainian Catholic priest; fireman; sentenced in Lviv on October 28, 1981, to 5 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for religious activity.

9. Kovalenko, Ivan F. Born 1923; former prisoner of conscience; previously served over 20 years in prison; sentenced in Volnovakha, Donetsk Region, to 5 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for religious activity.

10. Litvinov, Borys A. Arrested and sentenced in Kiev in 1980, to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

11. Osyp, Roman S. Born 1951; Ukrainian Catholic priest; sentenced in Lviv on October 28, 1981, to 5 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for religious activity.

12. Pidhorodetsky, Vasyl V. Born 1926; former member of OUN-UPA; former political prisoner (1951-1981); arrested in Autumn 1982; sentenced to 1-1/2 years' imprisonment.

13. Ratushynska, Iryna B. Born 1954; physicist; poetess; sentenced in Kiev in March 1983 to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

14. Shnyrman, Semen D. Born November 8, 1957; Jewish activist; sentenced in Kerch on February 14, 1983, to 3 years' imprisonment for refusal of military duty.

15. Shokha, Viktor P. Born June 11, 1942; Baptist from Saky, Crimea Region; arrested January 14, 1983;

The individuals listed below were arrested or sentenced in the past few months for their activities in defense of human, national or religious rights in the U.S.S.R. Some were sentenced on fabricated criminal charges in an attempt to discredit them.

sentenced to 2-1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

16. Shyhay, Vasyl Ya. Jehovah's Witness from Torez, Donetsk Region; sentenced in January 1983 to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

17. Staroviyt, Ivan Ya. Former OUN member; former political prisoner; Jehovah's Witness; sentenced in Torez, Donetsk Region, to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

18. Symchych, Myroslav. Born 1923; former member of OUN-UPA; former political prisoner (1968-1983); arrested in labor camp shortly before release; sentenced in Orikhiv, Zaporizhzhya Region, on January 17, 1983, to 2-1/2 years' imprisonment on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

19. Ubohykh, Oleksander M. Baptist; sentenced in Crimea February 4, 1983, to 1-1/2 years' imprisonment for his religious activity.

20. Ushakov, Volodymyr H. From Voloshcha, Lviv Region; sentenced in Moscow on November 2, 1982, to 3 years' imprisonment on charges of wounding a guard near the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

21. Vyshkovsky A.L. Miner; Jehovah's Witness from Torez, Donetsk Region; sentenced in January 1983 to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

22. Zhovtonoshko, Heorhiy D. Born 1930; Baptist; sentenced in Mykolayiv in February 1983 to 3 years of imprisonment for religious activity.

## CRIMEAN TARTARS:

1. Murakhas Nurfet A. Born 1940; engineer; participant in the Tartar national movement; former political prisoner (1970-71); sentenced in Tashkent, Uzbek S.S.R., to 2-1/2 years'

imprisonment on charges of disseminating knowingly false information.

## BYELORUSSIA:

1. Vilchynska, Halyna V. Born August 4, 1958; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1979-1982); sentenced February 9, 1983, to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.



Halyna Vilchynska

## ESTONIA:

1. Künns, Raoul. Born 1964; student at a commercial vocational school; sentenced in May 1982 in Tartu to 2 years' imprisonment for raising the Estonian national flag in a public place.



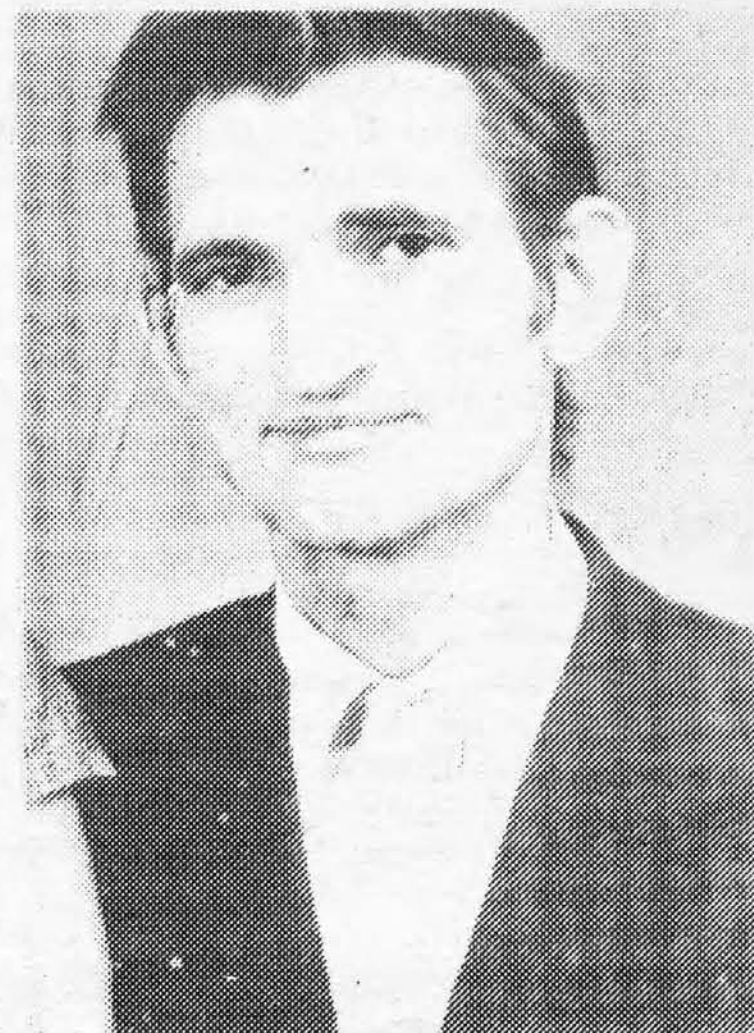
## ETHNIC GERMANS:

1. Akht, Viktor A. Born 1941; engineer; sentenced February 10, 1983, in Novosibirsk to 2 years' imprisonment.

2. Assmuss, Konstantin A. Born 1938; engineer; sentenced February 10, 1983, in Novosibirsk to 2 years' imprisonment.

## KIRGHIZIYA:

1. Kinas, Ivan E. Born 1951; sentenced in 1982 to 5 years' imprisonment for participating in the illegal publication "Khrystiyany."



Ivan Kinas

## LITHUANIA:

1. Pakutskas, Jonas. Born 1940; former political prisoner (spent 4 years in prison); sentenced in June 1982 in Vilnius to 12 years' imprisonment on charges of treason for his attempt to escape to Finland illegally.

2. Svarinskas, Alfonsas. Born January 21, 1925; Catholic priest; former prisoner of conscience (1946-56, 1958-64); member of the Catholic Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Believers; pastor of a church in Vidukla; sentenced in May 1983 to 7 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for religious activity.

## FOUR MURDERED FOR THEIR RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS



Volodymyr Muzyka



Vasyl Druk



Pylyp Kornienko

Three soldiers in the Soviet Army — two Ukrainians and one Moldavian — were murdered while serving in the Army. All three were Baptists. In Lviv, a Ukrainian Catholic nun was murdered. Given below is information about the victims.

1. Druk, Vasyl. Born 1962; Baptist from the village of N-Marineshti in Moldavia; murdered on August 14, 1981, while serving in the Soviet Army, for his religious convictions.

2. Korniyenko, Pylyp. Born 1963;

Baptist from the village of Zhuravka, Cherkasy Region; murdered in February 1982, while serving in the Soviet Army, for his religious convictions.

3. Muzyka, Volodymyr. Born 1963; Baptist from Uman, Cherkasy Region; murdered on January 10, 1982, while serving in the Soviet Army, for his religious convictions.

4. Shwed, Maria. Born 1954; Ukrainian Catholic nun; murdered on September 21, 1982, in Lviv, for her religious convictions.

(Continued on pg. 4)



## UNCENSORED NEWS FROM UKRAINE

\*A series of searches took place in connection with the case of Zoryan Popadyuk, who was arrested in October 1982 while in exile. The residence of political exile Ye. Pronyuk was searched in October; the Moscow residence of L.I. Vasilyev was searched on November 23rd; S. Kyrychenko was interrogated in Kiev on November 15th; and K. Popov was searched in Moscow on December 15th. Pronyuk is accused of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

\*Poet Taras Melnychuk and art historian Vasyl Barladyanu were released from imprisonment in the last few months.

\*After 8 years of imprisonment, Oksana Popovych is now serving 5 years of internal exile. Her address is: U.S.S.R., Tomskaya obl., Molchanovsky

rayon, V. Molchanovo, Dmytrova 71, kv.1.

\*Oleksandr Shatravka and V. Mishchenko were arrested July 14, 1982, for collecting signatures on a petition against nuclear arms. Initially, they were detained at the forensic psychiatric unit in the city of Tobolsk, and subsequently were transferred to the Serbsky Institute in Moscow. The case is being handled by investigator Mykheyenko under the direction of Kopelman, the prosecutor of the town of Sovyetsk.

\*On October 28, 1981, the trial of Fr. V. Kavatsiv and Fr. R. Osyp, two priests of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church, took place in Lviv. The presiding judge was P. Romanyuk, the prosecutor was I. Kryhoryev. V. Doroshay testified in support of the

charge. The accused were defended by B. Sotenskov and M. Zholubskiy. The trial was practically closed to the public, as anyone who attempted to enter the courtroom was photographed and accused of membership in the underground Church. The priests' religious articles were confiscated and transferred to the Lviv museum of religion and atheism, and the more treasured objects were taken for profit by the state. Both priests were sentenced to 5 years of prison and 3 years of exile.

\*In Lithuania the KGB interrogated Zita Sharakauskayte, a student at the college of education, and her sister Ona in connection with their pen-palship with Ukrainian political exile Z. Popadyuk. A Vilnius ex-teacher, along with Bernadette Malishkayte, an

employee of a local church, were questioned about parcels that had been sent to Popadyuk.

\*In September 1982 K. Popov was detained at the Moskovska train station in Kiev. During the search materials relating to the investigation of Z. Antonyuk, along with photographs and notes on the status of various political prisoners, were confiscated.

\*According to as yet unconfirmed reports, leaflets were distributed in Western Ukraine in February and March 1982 calling for a general strike and support for the Polish labor union "Solidarity."

\*On February 14, 1983, in the city of Chernivtsi, over 150 tombstones in a Jewish cemetery were damaged. Rumor among the populace is that it was the work of the KGB.

\*The Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. has formed a branch in Odessa. Members of this branch include: Volodymyr and Vira Korniyev, Valeriy and Lidiya Pevzner, Klaudiya Pavlenko, Ihor Chepaty, and Oles Samsonsky. In April 1983, a typewriter and religious literature were seized from the Korniyevs' home.

\*Halyna Maksymova, from the Transcarpathian Region, was sentenced to three years of imprisonment, and is presently serving time in a concentration camp near Odessa. Her address: U.S.S.R., Ukr. S.S.R., Odessa, YuG-311/74.

\*The trial of Myroslav Symchych. The trial of M. Symchych, a long-time political prisoner and former member of the OUN-UPA, took place on January 17, 1983, in the city of Orikhov, Zaporizhzhya Region. Meshchanin was the presiding judge; Matusenko, the prosecutor and Hendin — the attorney. As demanded by the accused, the trial was conducted in the Ukrainian language. Under pressure by the KGB, a group of prisoners testified against Symchych. Two Russians "testified" that Symchych directed "nationalist propaganda" at them. In reply, Symchych stated that he would have chosen to direct such "propaganda" at Ukrainians. In his last word, Symchych stated that he is being tried as a member of the OUN-UPA, which he once joined to fight the occupiers, be they Germans, Hungarians, or Russians. He was sentenced to two and one-half years of imprisonment.

\*Fr. V. Romanyuk "Recants". "News from Ukraine," issue No. 17, April 1983, published an alleged "recantation" by Fr. V. Romanyuk, a letter that Romanyuk supposedly sent to the newspaper "Prykarpatska Pravda" and to the official council on religious matters at the Ivano-Frankivsk regional communist party headquarters. In his "recantation," Romanyuk allegedly declared that "I forbid the use of my name in any fashion, by anyone, or anywhere for anti-Soviet propaganda harmful to the Soviet nation and state."

\*Ukrainian artist Teodosiy Humenyuk has been forced to leave Leningrad, where he lived and painted. Having been refused permission to emigrate to the U.S., Humenyuk, now living in Dnipropetrovsk, has applied for an exit visa to Israel. Humenyuk's paintings are considered "non-conformist," as they do not follow the guidelines of socialist realism. Many of his paintings depict famous figures from Ukrainian history and folklore. Recently, the local Dnipropetrovsk paper "Zorya" published a lengthy article accusing Humenyuk of Western tendencies.

## POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE U.S.S.R.

### MARI A.S.S.R.:

1. Abramov, Leonid H. Born 1931; Baptist; sentenced January 6, 1983, in Ioshkar Ola to 2 years' imprisonment.

2. Chenhesterov, Anatoliy N. Born 1939; Baptist; sentenced January 6, 1983, in Ioshkar Ola to 2-1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

3. Nikolayev, Tikhon. Born 1927; Baptist; sentenced January 6, 1983, in Ioshkar Ola to 2 years' imprisonment.

### MOLDAVIA:

1. Misyruk, Stepan N. Born June 6, 1931; Baptist; sentenced February 12, 1983, in Beltsy to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

### NORTH OSSETIAN A.S.S.R.:

1. Chystyakov, Venyamin H. Born May 1, 1933; Baptist; sentenced January 28, 1983, in Ordzhonikidze to 4 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

2. Markevych, Venyamin A. Born April 19, 1983; Baptist; sentenced January 28, 1983, in Ordzhonikidze to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

3. Mikhin, V. Baptist; sentenced January 28, 1983, in Ordzhonikidze to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

### RUSSIA:

1. Abramkin, Valeriy. Born May 19, 1947; engineer; worked on the samvydav journal "Poiski"; arrested in a concentration camp on the eve of his release and charged with disseminating knowingly false information; sentenced April 4, 1983, in Barnaul to 3 years' imprisonment.

2. Akselrod, Dmitri. Writer; sentenced February 28, 1983, in Leningrad to 1-1/2 years' imprisonment.

3. Andryushin, Yevgeniy. Graduate student in physics-mathematics; employed at the Physics Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Russian S.F.S.R.; sentenced October 1, 1983, in Moscow to 3 years' imprisonment and 2 years' internal exile; known for his membership in a socialist group and for his work "The State of the Working Class in the U.S.S.R."

4. Avdeyev, A. Sentenced January 25, 1983, to 3 years' imprisonment.

5. Bakhmin, Viktor. Born September 25, 1947; engineer; member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Motives; arrested in a concentration camp on the eve of the completion of

3-year sentence; sentenced to an additional one year of imprisonment.

6. Barats, Vasyl M. Born September 28, 1946; Pentecostalist; sentenced in Rostov-on-Don to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

7. Dik, Gerard H. Born January 19, 1926; Baptist; sentenced February 21, 1983, in Prokopyevsk, Kemerovo Region, to 4 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

8. Dolinin, Vyacheslav I. Born 1950; editor of the samvydav journal "Chasy"; member of the literary group "Klub-81"; sentenced April 5, 1983, in Leningrad to 4 years' imprisonment and 2 years' internal exile; on charges of samvydav activity and contacts with emigres; recanted on April 18.

9. Fot, Yakiv I. Born August 2, 1925; Baptist; sentenced February 21, 1983, in Prokopyevsk, Kemerovo Region, to 3 years' imprisonment.

10. Gershuni, Vladimir. Born March 18, 1930; grandson of a well-known Russian revolutionary activist; worker in SMOT and the samvydav journal "Poiski"; sentenced April 12, 1983, in Moscow to forced imprisonment in a psychiatric hospital.

11. Grinyev, Viktor I. Born 1941; artist; renounced his Soviet citizenship; sentenced in November 1982 to 3 years' imprisonment.

12. Kalugin, Aleksander. Born 1956; artist; sentenced to forced imprisonment in a psychiatric hospital.

13. Kolyada, Maya. Born 1928; geologist; organizer of illegal groups of yoga and Indian philosophy; sentenced March 25, 1983, in Moscow to 2 years' imprisonment.

14. Krakhmalkinova, Zoya. Born 1929; literary critic; graduate student in philosophy; editor of the samvydav collection "Nadezhda"; sentenced April 1, 1983, in Moscow to one year of imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for religious activity.

15. Perchatkin, Boris H. Born July 1, 1946; Pentecostalist; sentenced April 19, 1983, in Komsomolsk-na-Amuri to 1-1/2 years' imprisonment, on fabricated charges of illegally carrying a weapon.

16. Rogalsky, Pyotr. Born January 25, 1937; Baptist; sentenced February 21, 1983, in Prokopyevsk, Kemerovo Region, to 3 years' internal exile for religious activity.

17. Runov, Anatoliy F. Baptist; sentenced February 24, 1983, in Gorky to forced imprisonment in a psychiatric hospital.

18. Senderov, Valeriy. Born 1945; mathematician; member of SMOT;

member of the NTS; sentenced in Moscow in February 1983 to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile.

19. Shylkov, A. Born 1951; historian; printer; sentenced November 25, 1982, in Petrozavodsk to 3 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for his participation in a group of socialists and for attempting to obtain type for an illegal printing press.

20. Skvirsky, Vladimir. Born October 9, 1930; member of SMOT; imprisoned and in exile since 1978; arrested in a concentration camp on the eve of his release and sentenced to 3 additional years' imprisonment on charges of disseminating knowingly false information.

21. Skobov, Aleksander. Sentenced May 4, 1983, in Leningrad to forced imprisonment in a psychiatric hospital.

22. Smirnov, Aleksei O. Born February 2, 1951; engineer; sentenced May 13, 1983, in Moscow to 6 years' imprisonment and 4 years' internal exile for his participation in editing "The Chronicle of Current Events."

23. Subbotin, Vsevolod. Third-year student at the Physical-Technical Institute; sentenced in September 1982 in Moscow to 5 years' imprisonment for affixing posters with the slogan "Freedom for Political Prisoners" on KGB buildings in and around Moscow.

24. Sukhova, V.A. Born 1917; specialist in physical therapy; sentenced February 5, 1983, in Sverdlovsk to 4 years' imprisonment for practicing yoga.

25. Sysoyev, Vyacheslav V. Born October 31, 1937; artist-caricaturist; sentenced May 12, 1983, in Moscow to 2 years' imprisonment for his nonconformist artistic works.

26. Tsurkova, Iryna. Member of SMOT; sentenced March 15, 1983, in Leningrad to 3 years' imprisonment on charges of forwarding anti-Soviet information to the West.

27. Verkhovsky, Anatoliy. Born 1944; sentenced in September 1982 in Sverdlovsk to 3 years' imprisonment.

28. Yevdokimov, Rostislav B. Born November 29, 1950; historian; poet; sentenced April 4, 1983, in Leningrad to 5 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile; charged with membership in SMOT, working on the SMOT Bulletin, and contacts with Russian anti-Soviet emigres; recanted on April 18.

### UZBEKISTAN:

1. Bakhman, Gustav H. Born January 19, 1948; Baptist; sentenced in February 1983 to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.



# HELSINKI HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS NOT "INTERNAL" MATTER

The following article is the concluding part of a lecture delivered by Dr. Warvariv in July 1977 at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich and again in December 1981 in Washington, D.C., at a meeting of the local branch of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences.

In the first part of the lecture Dr. Warvariv explains the chain of events leading up to the signing on August 1, 1975, of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and discusses the significance of Principle VII and the document's "third basket."

So much for the Final Act document itself or, more accurately, those sections that concern human rights. The reader, however, is now faced with the obvious question: well, fine, but what does it all mean when every day we hear that people are thrown into prisons for the very mention of the Helsinki Accords?

While not promising to give the reader a fully satisfactory and exhaustive answer to this weighty question, I want to devote the rest of my article to this matter.

First, we must establish what the Final Act is and what it is not. It is, above all, a political document, in which the signatory states came to a unanimous decision as to an entire set of important postulates, on which the current order in Europe should be based, a decision concerning what is generally described as the "politics of detente." In other words, we have here the recognition of the primary importance of the principle that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is an inalienable part of security and peace in Europe and that such recognition creates the foundation for friendly relations among the states that signed the Final Act.

Secondly, the Act is a document of great moral significance. The first precondition of the conference was that the concluding document must be accepted by consensus; thus the participants in the conference, which lasted two and one-half years, had to seek compromises. In order to emphasize precisely this aspect, the document states that all its sections, all its principles and commitments, are of "primary significance" and therefore will be implemented equally.

Put more simply, this means that this article or another, this paragraph or another, have equal significance and cannot be cited as being more important or less important in comparison with others. Thus, having agreed to the above-mentioned Principle VII and the third section or "basket," the Soviet Union, ipso facto, recognized and agreed to everything that is said there. The fact that the Final Act was signed "at the summit" — by the highest representatives of the 35 participating states — and subsequently published in the press (at the West's insistence) gives great weight to the Helsinki Accords.

But having said "A," we must also say "B" — we must emphasize what the Final Act is not. It is not a treaty, as this term is understood under international law. This comes from the next to last section of the document, where it is stated that the Final Act is not subject to registration under the terms of Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations — according to which all legally binding treaties must be registered at the United Nations and published by this world organization. This means that Austria, for example, cannot take Czechoslovakia before the World Court in The Hague, charging Prague with nonobservance of the article of the Helsinki Final Act on reunification of families or exchanges between scientific institutions.

It should be emphasized, however, that although it is not a law in the sense of "international law" and does not have the force of law, the Final Act is never-

theless a moral commitment! It is fully compatible with the standards of international law and, without doubt, can be a source of customary international law.

What is more, the violation of this voluntarily undertaken international commitment by a signatory state gives other signatory states every right to an appropriate, though not legally enforceable, response or complaint. The well-known principle "pacta sunt servanda" is binding here. As can be seen from what transpired at the Belgrade and Madrid conferences, that is the position taken by the Western states (particularly the U.S.), their citizens and the world's free press.

As is well known, the totalitarian states of Eastern Europe, led by the Soviet Union, have taken an opposite position. There is something new in this situation in that great masses of the populations of the states of the totalitarian East are today demanding the implementation of the postulates of the Final Act, a document solemnly signed by the highest state leaders and published in the official press.

This is the great psychological significance of the Helsinki Accords, with which Moscow and its satellites must, with ever greater difficulty, wage battle.

Moscow's argument in this battle, used in international forums, is its claim that every instance of raising the issue of the implementation of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords constitutes interference in the internal affairs of some state. This view is categorically rejected by experts on international law and international rela-

tions, as well as by Western governments, especially the government of the U.S.

We also reject this view, based on the following arguments:

1) "Domestic" or "internal" jurisdiction refers to that which is not the subject of attention and concern on the part of the community of nations or, simply put, that which has no bearing on anyone else. Everything which is regulated by international law or international agreement automatically is not an internal matter; it by definition becomes a subject of international attention. Otherwise, there was no sense in spending almost three years on such conferences and acts.

2) "Intervention" becomes illegal in cases of interference in matters that are specifically determined as falling under an "internal, domestic jurisdiction." According to generally accepted practice at the United Nations, interna-

(Continued on pg. 9)

## CONSTANTINE WARVARIV REMEMBERED

A year has passed since the untimely death on April 6, 1982, of Constantine Warvariv, long-time U.S. diplomat and an active member of the Ukrainian American community.



Dr. Constantine Warvariv

Dr. Warvariv served as a Foreign Service officer in the U.S. State Department for over 20 years; at the time of his death at age 57 he was the Agency Director of the Office of Transportation and Communications in the Department's Bureau of International Organization Affairs. In 1978-79 Constantine Warvariv served as Agency Director for UNESCO Affairs; from 1974-78 he was Deputy U.S. Permanent Representative to UNESCO, serving in Paris.

In 1977 Dr. Warvariv was the central figure in an international dispute between the U.S. and Soviet governments, caused by a KGB attempt to blackmail him into collaboration and its subsequent smear campaign against him when he exposed it.

Constantine Warvariv was born in 1925 in Povursk, in the Ukrainian region of Volyn. His father was a Ukrainian Orthodox priest. World War II forced the family to leave its homeland. In 1949 Constantine Warvariv received a law degree from the University of Heidelberg in Germany; that same year he emigrated to the United States. In 1953 he received a master's degree in public law and government from Columbia University and completed course work requirements for the Ph.D., which he received in 1977 from the Ukrainian Free University in Munich.

Warvariv entered the U.S. Foreign Service in 1961, after five years at the Library of Congress. During his long career he served with distinction. His work was recognized through numerous

citations and awards, including the State Department's Meritorious Honor Award and the Superior Honor Award. In nominating Dr. Warvariv for the latter award, in recognition of his "outstanding contributions to multilateral diplomacy," his supervisors at State wrote:

Mr. Constantine Warvariv has given sustained outstanding and superior service to the United States Permanent Delegation to UNESCO... has been highly effective in his special areas of responsibility, such as human rights, matters related to the Helsinki agreements and on other U.S.S.R. related political items, and has shown an unwavering sense of responsibility and devotion to duty and highest level of professionalism under extremely adverse and stressful conditions which have posed threats to his personal security and have intruded into his and his family's private lives.

Dr. Warvariv took part in 23 international conferences as a member of American delegations.

It was during a UNESCO-sponsored conference on environmental education, taking place in October 1977 in Tbilisi, Soviet Georgia, that the Soviet secret police, the KGB, using blatant forgeries alleging collaboration with the Nazis, attempted to blackmail Dr. Warvariv into cooperating with it. After he exposed their entire scheme, the Soviets retaliated with a smear campaign in their media and with harassment of him and his family, even in Paris, where he was posted. The U.S. lodged a sharp protest with the Soviet government over

th, blackmail attempt and the entire smear campaign.

Not long after he returned from Tbilisi, Dr. Warvariv's health dramatically declined; extensive medical tests revealed toxic levels of lead, mercury and arsenic in his blood. The State Department investigated the poisoning, but never issued a report with a conclusion as to its source. Those close to Dr. Warvariv say that he was convinced that the KGB had poisoned him in retaliation for his strong stands at UNESCO forums and for his exposing its blackmail attempt. The official cause of death, however, was given as amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, also known as Lou Gehrig's disease.

Dr. Warvariv was more than a brilliant diplomat and a highly skilled professional. He was a scholar, with special interest in diplomatic history, including Ukrainian-American relations; a member of numerous scientific and professional associations, he had several of his articles published in scientific journals. He was also an activist for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S., serving on its Metropolitan Council and as head of the parish committee of St. Andrew's Church in Washington. For many years he was president of the Ukrainian Association of Washington.

Dr. Warvariv's death left a deep void in the Ukrainian American community, especially in Washington. And his stature in the world of diplomacy can best be summed up in these words by former Secretary General of the UN Kurt Waldheim: "Mr. Constantine Warvariv is a man of true renaissance. His views reflect universal perception of world events, attitudes and opportunities... He was a servant of peace and understanding for mankind."



Constantine Warvariv, second from left, with, from left to right, Pierre Graham (Director, U.S. delegation to UNESCO), Dr. Henry David (Director of the National Science Foundation), John Upton, and Ambassador William Jones — all U.S. delegates to the UNESCO General Conference in Paris in 1972.



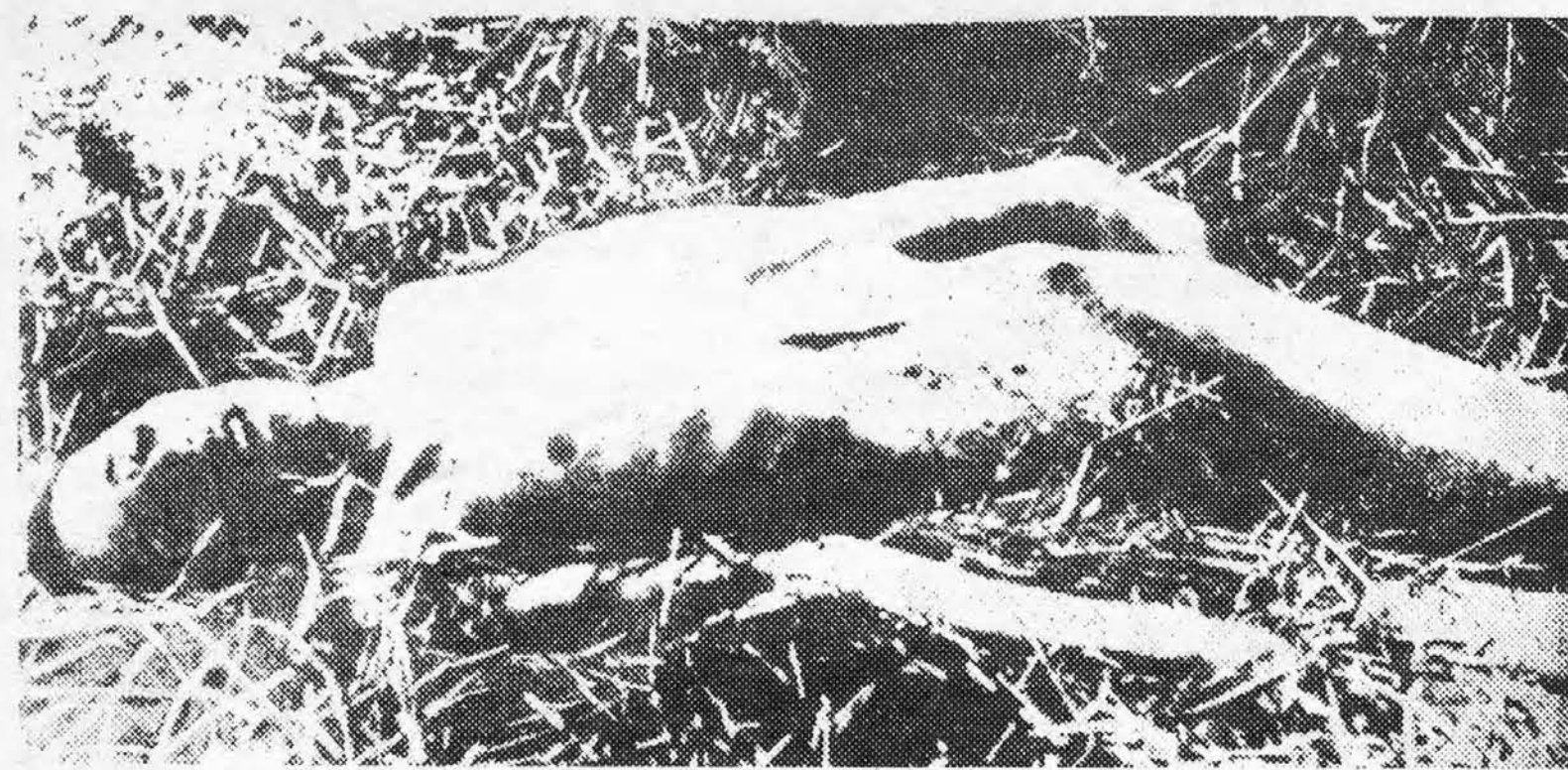


Engraving by Vasyl Lopata

The following resolution (H. Con. Res. 111) to commemorate the Ukrainian famine of 1933 was submitted in the House of Representatives on April 14, 1983, by Congressman Solomon. It was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Whereas over seven million Ukrainians in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which was created as the result of direct aggression by the Russian Communist military forces against the Ukrainian National Republic in 1918-1920, died of starvation during the years 1932-1933; and

Whereas the Soviet Russian Government, having full and complete control of the entire food supplies within the borders of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, nevertheless failed to take relief measures to check the disastrous famine or to alleviate the catastrophic conditions arising from it, but on the contrary used the famine as a means of reducing the Ukrainian population and destroying Ukrainian national, political, cultural, and religious rights; and



A dead boy, his stomach split open from hunger

Whereas the Soviet Russian Government targeted the Ukrainian people for destruction as a whole by directing special draconic decrees against Ukrainian peasants as "an enemy class," against the Ukrainian intelligentsia as "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists," and against the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church as "a remnant of the old prejudicial 'opiate of the people'" — committed on a gigantic and unprecedented scale the heinous crime of genocide, as defined by the United Nations Genocide Convention; and

Whereas numerous appeals from prominent organizations and individuals throughout the world, such as the League of Nations, the International Red Cross, and several groups of parliamentarians from the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland who earnestly appealed to the Soviet Russian Government for appropriate steps to help the millions of starving Ukrainians, went unheeded by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and

Whereas intercessions have been made at various times by the United States during the course of its history on behalf of citizens of countries persecuted by their governments, indicating that it has been the traditional policy of the United States to take cognizance of such destruction of human beings as the famine holocaust in Ukraine in 1933; and

Whereas on May 28, 1934, some six months after the formal recognition of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the United States, Congressman Hamilton Fish, of New York, introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution (H. Res. 399, 73d Cong., 2d sess.) calling for international condemnation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for its genocidal and barbarous destruction of the Ukrainian people: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that the President of the United States shall take in the name of humanity immediate and determined steps to —

(1) issue a proclamation in mournful commemoration of the great famine in the Ukraine during the year 1933, which constituted a deliberate and imperialistic policy of the Soviet Russian Government to destroy the intellectual elite and large segments of the population of the Ukraine and thus enhance its totalitarian Communist rule over the conquered Ukrainian nation;

(2) issue a warning that continued enslavement of the Ukrainian nation as well as other non-Russian nations within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

constitutes a threat to world peace and normal relationships among the peoples of Europe and the world at large; and

(3) manifest to the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and national independence.

Statement of Congressman Don Ritter (Pa.):

As you join with Ukrainians throughout the world in commemoration of the 50th Observance of the Ukrainian Holocaust, I want you to know that I am with you. I understand that no amount of time will ever lessen the tremendous suffering that Ukrainians have experienced and indeed continue to experience at the hands of their Soviet oppressors. Yet, remembering is essential so that the horrors of the past are not repeated.

History has been witness to famines brought on by nature and by war, but rarely have a people been so devastated

In 1932 and 1933 a calamity of unfathomable proportions struck the Ukrainian nation: between 7 and 10 million peasants died the horrible death of starvation. The mass famine in Ukraine — traditionally known as the breadbasket of Europe — was not the deed of cruel Nature, but the calculated outcome of a monstrous plan to force collectivization of agriculture on the Ukrainian people and simultaneously to

for so long by a famine initiated and directed by a government. Countless stories of individual hardships and suffering have been told. Survivors of the Ukrainian Holocaust still recount the horror of the mid 1930's as if it were yesterday. Their eyes become moist from tears, their voices falter and their wound are reopened. It is a story of individuals suffering on a catastrophic scale and of a great people dying. It is a story America and the world should know just as they know about the holocaust perpetrated against the Jews.

While historians have chronicled the events and circumstances which led to the famine, little is said of the prolonged suffering and untold hardship of families and individual Ukrainians.



A frequent sight in Ukrainian villages and towns in 1933

When one begins to understand the magnitude of the famine, it can be easily understood why the Soviets have tried to hide this from history's eyes or have sought to lessen its importance. No doubt these are the types of events that the civilized world would sooner forget as they remind us of the grimy side of our existence. However, I think it is important that the events which occurred 50 years ago, as well as the continuing oppression of Ukraine, be brought before the world's attention. We must be reminded of the horror the people endured and the lack of will that other nations had in trying to stop the famine or alleviating the suffering of the Ukrainian people.

Yet, as we gather together today in

May 16, 1983, statement of Vice President George Bush:

Our prayers are with you on the fiftieth anniversary of the famine in the Ukraine. This great tragedy of a people lost to the savagery of communist repression remains heavy on the hearts of free people everywhere.

The Ukrainian people's continued struggle for freedom reinforces America's determination to deter abuse of human rights. This magnificent courage of your great people humbles free nations to a renewed commitment to fight injustice on every battlefield, strong in our faith in the dignity of each human being, and the hope of peace for all mankind.

Statement by Congressman Bill Green (N.Y.):

The Ukrainian famine was a terrible act of genocide that is not well-known to the American people. It is imperative that we recognize this tragedy for what it is: a famine willfully created by Soviet leaders and heinously used for their own ends that killed over seven million innocent men, women, and children. The famine was part of the Soviet campaign to force collectivization on the Ukrainian people and enhance its claim over their nation.

It is very important that the Ukrainian famine not remain hidden in history books, and that civilized nations speak out against such crimes.

My heart is with you in speaking out against the oppressive Soviet system and working to free the democratic peoples of the Ukraine.

body and in spirit, we can all be thankful in knowing that Ukrainian people are still strong in will and in spirit and against great odds stand up to oppression. Ukrainian culture, tradition and history stand in the forefront of human development in spite of efforts to crush them and they will endure.

Ukrainians will someday have a free homeland — that I believe in and that I will work to achieve. As a member of the Congressional Helsinki Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe and Co-Chairman of the Congressional Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine, I promise that I will strive on your behalf, on behalf of what is right and good, in keeping the plight of Ukraine before the American people. I salute you for your commemoration of this important event in world history and I pray that someday Ukraine will join its rightful place among free nations of the world.



A Ukrainian boy dying of starvation



# THE ARTIFICIAL FAMINE IN UKRAINE

break the back of Ukrainian opposition to Soviet rule. Soviet soldiers and security forces were mobilized to confiscate the greater part of the grain harvest and other foodstuffs. The pictures and statements on this page give just a hint of the horror that visited Ukraine in 1932-33 as a result. This year Ukrainians mark the 50th anniversary of the national and human tragedy that was the Great Famine.

## Statement by President Ronald Reagan:

This event provides an opportunity to remember those who suffered and died during the farm collectivization and the subsequent period of starvation and severe repression. That attempt to crush the life, will, and spirit of a people by a totalitarian government holds important meaning for us today.

You have accepted a sacred task to ensure that our thoughts regarding this great tragedy do not fade and that its lessons are not forgotten. The memory of the victims inspires our continuing commitment to a moral vision that expresses our humanitarian concern for all people. Your rally and march serve as a stark reminder to the world's conscience of what transpired a half-century ago. Your actions will also strengthen our resolve not to remain silent and inactive in times of moral crisis.

You have my prayers in remembrance of those who endured this heart-wrenching persecution and transcending human disaster.

## A proclamation by Mayor Marion Barry, Jr., of Washington, D.C.:

WHEREAS, on Saturday, May 21, 1983 an observation will mark the 50th Anniversary of the famine-holocaust suffered by the people of the Ukraine, the bread-basket of Europe, where over 7,000,000 people died of starvation; and

WHEREAS, the purpose of this observation is to inform the public of this tragic event as a reminder that such a thing must never be repeated; and

WHEREAS, this mournful commemoration is to focus attention on the famine of 1932-1933, and its disastrous effect:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, THE MAYOR OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, do hereby proclaim Saturday, May 21, 1983 as "UKRAINE DAY OF REMEMBRANCE" in Washington, D.C.

## A statement by Hon. Roy Hnatyshyn (Saskatoon West) in the Canadian House of Commons, April 27, 1983:

[The year] 1983 marks the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine of 1932-33 in which over seven million Ukrainians perished. Besides its horrific magnitude, what makes this famine different from most is that it was a planned act of genocide on the part of Stalin's Soviet Government. In the words of journalist



A young Ukrainian girl and her 2-1/2 year-old brother, whose mother had died of starvation when he was one year old.

Malcolm Muggeridge, who witnessed this event:

The novelty of this particular famine, what made it so diabolical is that it was the deliberate creation of a bureaucratic mind, without any consideration whatever of the consequences in human suffering.

Planned famine was used as an instrument of national policy to break down resistance to Government efforts to collectivise the farming community. In the four years preceding 1932, Stalin and the Central Committee purposely estimated unrealistically high yields and thereupon established maximum supply quotas. When producers could not meet these quotas, they were accused of stealing, hoarding, and sabotage. In the fall of 1932 the authorities confiscated all food which could be found. By the spring of 1933, Ukrainian peasants were dying at a rate of 25,000 a day.

This tragedy must not be forgotten. It is important that history accurately portray the Stalinist regime for what it was, an unspeakably ruthless regime. The Ukrainian people have been the subject of many trials and tragedies, but none greater than this despicable famine.

## Tribute to the Ukrainian people by Senator Sarbanes (Md.):

In the great and noble history of the Ukraine, the famine of 1933 was a terrible event. But throughout their long history, the people of the Ukraine have suffered onslaught upon onslaught. It was little more than 7 years ago that 10 Ukrainians, in the face of harassment and repression in their native land, issued the declaration of implementation of the Helsinki accords, better known as the Ukrainian Helsinki group. It is fitting that, as we commemorate the great famine of 1933 which occurred in the face of ruthless collectivization and claimed the lives of more than 7 million Ukrainian men, women, and children, we should pay tribute as well to the men and women of the Ukraine who are carrying forward, at great personal sacrifice, the quest for human liberty.

A proud and courageous people, the Ukrainians have a history stretching over 1,000 years. Encompassing 232,000 square miles, theirs is a rich and fertile land. But this very fertility has been a source of an enduring tragedy, for the fine soil of the Ukraine, tilled productively by the industrious Ukrainian people, has been coveted by powerful neighbors throughout recorded history. Time after time these valiant people have been conquered by aggressor nations.

Yet the bitter Ukrainian experience — of lives extinguished, of liberty suppressed, of hopes betrayed — has not meant the destruction of the strong sense of national and cultural identity or of the freedom-loving spirit of the Ukraine.

The magnitude of the deprivation suffered by the Ukrainians between World War I and II under Soviet rule was severe. The dark days that began in the 1930's will always be remembered by those who cherish freedom and respect the human rights of individuals.

On this 50th anniversary of the famine in the Ukraine, we think not only of the past but of the present. Since the historic date of 1918, much has been accomplished worldwide to insure respect for fundamental human rights.

As we salute the achievements of the Ukrainian people, we recall the sacrifices as well of these brave and courageous people and in so doing, we renew our commitment to speak out on behalf of those who suffer deprivation under a government which continues to deny basic human rights.

## Statement of Senator Bill Bradley (N.J.):

I share your deep and heartfelt sadness at the loss of the seven million Ukrainians who perished under the merciless rule of Joseph Stalin. Although it is our painful duty to remember, 50 years later, the tragic fate of these brothers and sisters, and the Soviet attempt to destroy the unique cultural heritage of the Ukraine, we must also remember the culture, the spirit, and the courage of the Ukrainian people who survived this brutal attack.

Ukrainians today continue to be strengthened by the solemn remembrance of the tragic past that binds them together. You have demonstrated that spirit and unity in a powerful and moving way. I join with you in remembering the individuals who suffered and died 50 years ago, and I share in your commitment to perpetuate the cultural and spiritual independence of the Ukrainian people in the years to come.



"Year 33" by Victor Tsybmal

## Remarks by Congressman Bernard J. Dwyer of New Jersey on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Great Famine:

The Great Famine must never be forgotten. In the fifty years following the Ukrainian holocaust, Ukrainian citizens continued to suffer relentless persecution at the hand of totalitarian communism.

I believe expressions of support are important in the continuing struggle for human rights in this captive nation, a struggle that is fueled by courageous people like Mykola Rudenko, Yuriy Shukhevych and so many others who fight for justice in the name of those eight million fellow countrymen who perished under a Soviet policy of planned destruction.

The Ukrainian struggle for human rights is also helped immeasurably by the strength and commitment shared by all who condemn Soviet atrocities — past and present — and steadfastly pursue freedom for our compatriots in Ukraine.



Corpses of starved Ukrainians at a burial spot



Engraving by Vasyl Lopata





## A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

### IN DEFENSE OF OLHA HEYKO-MATUSEVYCH

The External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group has issued the following appeal in behalf of Olha-Heyko Matushevych. Ms. Heyko-Matushevych, wife of Ukrainian Helsinki Group member and political prisoner Mykola Matushevych, was recently re-arrested after almost completing a previous three-year prison term for defending her husband. The text of this appeal is printed below.

*To the Heads of State of the signatory nations of the Helsinki Final Act, to Human Rights Organizations throughout the world, to the United Nations:*

It has become known that Olha Dmytrivna Matushevych, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, has been re-arrested.

On March 12th of this year, Olha Matushevych was to be released after a three-year prison term. In 1980 she was sentenced for the following:

for participation in the activity of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords — accords which were also signed by the leader of the Soviet State,

for appeals in defense of her husband, political prisoner Mykola Matushevych, one of the founders of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group,

for an open protest against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan — the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan which was condemned by a majority of member-nations of the U.N.

Olha Matushevych has suffered much in the last few years: the arrest of her husband, slander, unemployment, searches, KGB-initiated assaults on the street and constant day-by-day, minute-by-minute surveillance. Finally — prison and years in camp.

The three-year imprisonment revealed itself to be unsatisfying to the KGB wardens: a new charge — under article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. — has been brought against Olha Matushevych. This charge carries a sentence (for so-called anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda) of twelve years' imprisonment. The re-arrest of Olha Matushevych is a new step in the escalation of KGB repression against human rights activists.

Several years ago, the Soviet punitive organs again began to practice "Stalinist machinations" — the re-arrests of political prisoners while still in the camps. But up until now, this practice applied only to men. Bringing new charges against a woman already in camp is an exception that has no precedent in the time since the Stalinist pogroms. And, as always, the testing ground for new methods of repression is Ukraine.

Olha Matushevych's new arrest, a flagrant violation of the Helsinki Final Act, is committed at the time when the drafting of a final communique of participants in the Madrid Conference is under way, in which once again the



Olha Heyko-Matushevych

obligation of every government who signed the Helsinki Final Act to uphold human right is emphasized. The lawlessness of the Soviet wardens is testimony to the hypocritical politics of the leadership of the Soviet Union, headed by the former chief of the KGB, which, hiding behind talk about the desire to defend the rights of citizens, is leading the country back to Stalinism.

We appeal to all nations who signed the Helsinki Final Act, to all human rights organizations throughout the world, to demand from the Soviet government the immediate release of Olha Matushevych, and to condemn the persecution of members of the Helsinki Groups in the Soviet Union.

**Members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in the West [ed. External Representation]:**

Petro Grigorenko  
Volodymyr Malynkovych  
Leonid Plyushch  
Nadia Svitlychna

April 6, 1983

### YURIY SHUKHEVYCH WEEK IN CANADA

March 28th, the birthday of long-time Ukrainian political prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych, marked the beginning of "Yuriy Shukhevych Week" in Canada. A series of successful defense actions took place this year in the following Canadian cities: Toronto, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Montreal, Oshawa, Hamilton, St. Catherine's, Windsor, Welland, Guelph, and Kitchener. The actions were initiated by the Committee for the Release of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the U.S.S.R.

In Toronto, over 5000 Canadians signed a petition demanding Shukhevych's release. Present at the opening ceremonies were the vice-president of the Ontario Parliament, Dan Cousins. The following Canadian officials also participated in the week-long action:

Yuriy Shymko — member of the Toronto city council; Michael Wilson and Jesse Flis — members of the Canadian Parliament; and Art Egelton — Mayor of Toronto. The Canadian Minister of Immigration, Lloyd Aksvord, sent a letter to the Canadian Embassy in Moscow informing them that Shukhevych will be issued a Canadian visa the moment he receives permission to emigrate from the U.S.S.R.

*Musical pop group in Leningrad.* In Leningrad, a group of young Baptists formed a pop band called "Trubnoy zov." The group is demanding the right to perform officially in public. The group has released several cassette tapes of religious music and pop operas. Spokesmen for the group are Valeriy Barynov and Sergei Timochin.

### UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC PATRIARCH DEFENDS LITHUANIAN PRIEST

On January 29th of this year, in a letter addressed to "Our Lithuanian Brethren," Ukrainian Catholic Patriarch Josyf Cardinal Slipy defended the recently arrested Lithuanian Catholic priest Fr. Alfonsas Svarinskas. The trial of Fr. Svarinskas began on January 26, 1983. Soviet authorities accused the 58-year-old priest of anti-Soviet propaganda, slander of Soviet reality, and participation in public religious gatherings, where he allegedly called for resistance to the Soviet system. Fr. Svarinskas has already served several sentences in Soviet prisons and camps, and was a founding member of the unofficial "Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Believers." In his letter, Cardinal Slipy stated:

"The sad news that your brother-priest, Fr. Svarinskas, has been arrested again has come to my attention. The circumstances and reasons for his arrest are unknown to me. But one thing is certain: he is dedicated to Christ's Church. . . He did not commit any crime against either the state or the law. His only crime in the eyes of darkness was his zeal for souls. On what basis do I say

this? I know Fr. Svarinskas from my meetings with him twenty years ago in times of imprisonment and incarceration.



Rev. Alfonsas Svarinskas

tion. Together we bore the cross of suffering, trials, and tribulations. He was a faithful friend to me in prison. He is the glory of the Lithuanian Catholic Church and the Lithuanian Nation."

### BRITISH FORM COMMITTEE IN DEFENSE OF CHORNOVIL

On January 12th, 1983, a group of British citizens, led by actor-activist David Markham and Bohdan Nahaylo, launched a campaign among British journalists to publicize the fate of Ukrainian journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil. Chornovil, who won the Sunday Times Nicholas Tomlin Award for investigative reporting in 1975, is presently serving an additional five-year sentence in a strict-regime labor camp for his activity in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. The British Committee's address is: Lear Cottage, Colemans Hatch, East Sussex, United Kingdom.

In 1982, Chornovil wrote an article describing the fate and treatment of Ukrainian political prisoners and compared their struggle to the Irish hunger striker/prisoners.

Chornovil wrote: "With all the tragedy of the Irish hunger striker/prisoners, with all the complexity of and, as it seems, the insoluble position in Ulster, Soviet propaganda (against the British) has no right to make ideological capital out of it . . . Instead of thousands of demonstrators, the funeral rites would be sadly paid to him by a few prisoners on grave-digging duty, lighting up a cigarette over his grave, marked only by a number . . . That is precisely the fate that awaits me and the rest of my comrades in the struggle for the national liberty of the Ukrainian people — and for basic human rights for all the peoples of the Soviet Union . . . And that is why I envy Robert Sands, the prisoner of Ulster, who died a martyr's death by hunger."

The British Committee issued the following news release to announce its formation:

In 1975 Vyacheslav Chornovil, a Ukrainian journalist, was the winner of the first Sunday Times Nicholas Tomlin award for investigative reporting. As a result of his integrity and courage in exposing Soviet violations of human and national rights, 45-year-old Chornovil has spent all but 18 months of

the last 15 years in labor camps and internal exile in the Siberian sub-Arctic.

His renunciation of Soviet citizenship, failure to recant during those years, as well as his membership in the unofficial Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group, might also explain the trumped-up charge of "attempted rape" which was brought against him in 1980 a few weeks before the expiry of his term of internal exile. For this alleged crime he received another five years of strict regime labor camp. The account of the trial and the testimony of the victim make grotesque reading.

Chornovil's health has deteriorated during his long years of imprisonment. Now half-way through his latest sentence, his colleagues fear that the authorities may at any time bring fresh charges against him in order to prolong his imprisonment.

The members of the new committee are agreed that the case of Chornovil, relatively unpublicized, is a particularly atrocious one. It shall seek to rectify this indifference.

The British Committee for Chornovil is being launched on 12 January 1983. The date is significant because it is the anniversary of Chornovil's arrest in 1972 which he commemorates each year with a protest hunger strike.

The Chornovil Committee appeals to British journalists to take up the case of their professional colleague. That such things happen to a journalist in a country that claims to be the leader in world Socialism, should serve as a warning that no journalists, anywhere, are immune from State repression.

*Malva Landa still considers herself a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group.* Malva Landa, a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group who is well known for her activity in the U.S.S.R. human rights movement and is now in political exile, stated during interrogation on December 6, 1982, that she still considers herself a member of the Group, despite the fact that the Group has discontinued its activity.



# CITIZENS GROUP FORMED TO DEFEND CATHOLIC CHURCH IN UKRAINE

In 1944 and 1945 Soviet forces occupying Western Ukraine carried out the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church (belonging to the Greek Catholic, or Byzantine Catholic, Rite). Thousands of Ukrainian Catholic bishops, priests, nuns and faithful were killed; thousands of others were sent to Siberian concentration camps. The destruction of the Church was formalized by a sham "synod" in Lviv in June 1945; the Ukrainian Catholic Church was forcibly incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church. It remains under a ban to this day. In the fall of 1982 an Initiatory Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church was formed in Ukraine. The Group, which has taken upon itself the task of bringing about the resurrection of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, is headed by long-time political prisoner Yosyf Terelya. Two of the Group's initial documents recently reached the West — a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, informing about the Group's formation, and the Group's first Memorandum, addressed to the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

Given below are English-language translations of these two documents.

TO: The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Kiev

FROM: Yosyf Terelya

A citizen of the so-called Ukrainian S.S.R.

## A STATEMENT

On September 9, 1982, the Initiatory Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church was formed in Ukraine. I was elected head of the Initiatory Group; Rev. Hryhoriy Budzynsky was elected secretary of the Group. Two other priests — Rev. Dionisiy and Rev. Ihnatiy — and a believer, Stefaniya Petrash-Sichko, also joined the Group. This was the response by Ukrainian Catholics to the increased repression against our Church. From this day on, all information about the Ukrainian Catholic Church will be disseminated to the world community — the world's Catholics should know and remember in what circumstances we exist.

We have a single goal: *legalization!* To be equal with all other groups in the Soviet population. We live, grow and overcome despite the statements and threats of some Party members! The trials and persecution of Catholics in Ukraine have strengthened our faith even more and have allowed us to encounter the profundity of God's work.

I state without exaggeration that there is nothing better than to die in a Communist prison as a Catholic who has lost his fear, who has found himself again in faith and hope. Therefore, we still believe that God's Kingdom will come and will have no end.

I am reproached for fanaticism and for all the sins of nonbelievers. But those who say this forget that the Catholic Church is a Universal Church. The idea of Jesus Christ is one of the most revolutionary ideas of the past twenty centuries.

"Christ died for us . . . we are redeemed by his blood" (Rom. 5,9) — and that is why it is necessary to live and remember: where the blood of the Savior is not worshipped, there comes, there must come, destruction and death!

And although today the reaction of evil is still strong, we Catholics know and believe that all evil has its end, as well as a beginning; we live in an era of constant upheavals. And therefore we follow Him who told us: "Believe! I conquered the world!" Amen.

Y. Terelya

To the Government of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

An Appeal from the Initiatory Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church

On June 18, 1945, jurisdiction over the entire Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine

was handed over to three priests — an "Initiative Group" — by decree (by ukase of P. Khodchenko, representative of the Council for Matters of the Russian Orthodox Church of the Council of the People's Commissars).



Stefaniya Petrash-Sichko, member of the Initiatory Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church. Her husband Petro and son Vasyl are imprisoned members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. A second son, Volodymyr, is also a political prisoner.

In this way, well before the false synod in Lviv, our Church had been handed over to the care of apostates.

The fact itself that government organs handed over the jurisdiction of the Church into the hands of priests had no force of law.

Our Church is hierarchical. The higher authorities are the Pope of Rome, cardinals and bishops. And it was only after the actual liquidation, on paper, of the Ukrainian Catholic Church that a "synod" was called on March 10, 1946, in Lviv. The time was deemed right to "return" the flowing blood of the Church "into the bosom of the Russian Orthodox Church." It is interesting and instructive that the God-fighting Communists so fervently defended the union of these two different churches.

And Patriarch Alexei, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, stepped over the corpses of executed Ukrainian bishops-archimandrites — such a "union" was pleasing to his way of thinking. The Russian tsars and the Church of that time also destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church, just as did Stalin in recent times.

We will not dwell on the "historic" synod in Lviv, which, at the Kremlin's direction, "put an end to" the 14-million Ukrainian population in the Western lands of Ukraine.

Even the memory of the traitors has passed, yet the Church lives and grows. Thirty years have passed since the Ukrainian Catholic Church went into the

catacombs. Officially, the government of the U.S.S.R., with the help of its masters of covert matters — the Berias and the like — destroyed all of the bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. But we survived the years of Stalin's evil times. Today, after the condemnation of the tyrant Stalin's crimes, the situation in which a segment of the Ukrainian people and their ancestral Church find themselves is abnormal. It is ridiculous when a state that declared as its credo "Freedom, equality and fraternity" pursues the total persecution of its own population merely because it praises Christ in its native language.

We, the Initiatory Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church, turn to the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. with the following Memorandum, so as to have an opportunity to work out universally accepted norms concerning the legalization and registration of the Ukrainian Catholic Church:



Yosyf Terelya, head of the Initiatory Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church.

1. Free elections in all of the dioceses of Western Ukraine and Transcarpathian Ukraine; in those dioceses where a majority of the parishioners consists of worshipers of the Greek Catholic faith, all churches, monasteries and chapels should be returned to them.

2. In places where parishioners of the Ukrainian Catholic Church constitute a minority, with respect to other groups of believers, they should be allowed to build houses of worship.

3. Re-establish the teaching institutions of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — the theological seminaries in Lviv and Uzhhorod.

4. Allow fifty theological students to go to the Vatican for study, and ten each to Vienna, Warsaw and Munich.

5. Return the printing presses confiscated earlier from the five dioceses of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

6. Form a commission to investigate the criminal activity of KGB and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] organs, which are responsible for the repression of Ukrainian clergy and parishioners.

7. Form a commission to investigate the criminal activity of the Soviet psychiatrists who are responsible for the repression of activists of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

8. The Church is obligated to uphold all rules and laws of the state and urge parishioners to do likewise.

9. The Church has as its highest authority His Holiness the Pope of Rome and therefore any kind of submission to Soviet authorities is impossible.

The law on the separation of the Church from the state should be adhered to.

Yosyf Terelya,  
Head of the Initiatory Group for the  
Defense of the Rights of Believers  
and the Church

Rev. Hryhoriy Budzynsky,  
Secretary of the Group  
Stefaniya Petrash-Sichko, Rev.  
Dionisiy, Rev. Ihnatiy,  
Members of the Group

## NOT "INTERNAL" MATTER

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tional discussions, declarations, resolutions and recommendations of the General Assembly and other bodies within the U.N. system are not interference in the internal affairs of any state, although sometimes they may be not to its liking. Although Article 2, paragraph 7, of the U.N. Charter speaks of "noninterference in the affairs which belong exclusively to internal jurisdiction," Article 56 of the Charter states that "all members of the United Nations agree to act separately or in concert, in cooperation with the U.N., for the implementation of the goals, enumerated in Article 55 of the Charter, to wit: the universal respect for and observance of human rights and basic freedoms for all people, without regard to race, sex, language or religion."

3) When interference is by force of arms or when it threatens with use of physical, military force against another state, especially when it is not sanctioned by the U.N. Security Council in accordance with section VII of the U.N. Charter, then it is illegal and contradicts the U.N. Charter and international law. That is also the meaning of Principle VI of the Helsinki Final Act, which declares: "The participating states will refrain from any intervention, direct or

indirect, individual or collective, in the internal or external affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of another participating State . . . They will accordingly refrain from any form of armed intervention or threat of such intervention against another participating State. They will likewise in all circumstances refrain from any other act of military, or of political, economic or other coercion."

It is interesting to note here that Principle VI at first called for nonintervention "in internal affairs," and the words "and external affairs" were added after extended debate at the insistence of Romania and Yugoslavia, which obviously had in mind the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine that he had proclaimed *ex cathedra* after the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia.

Thus, international law and generally accepted practice in international relations forbid only that interference in the affairs of another state which is dictatorial, coercive or consists of armed intervention. In fact, it will suffice to recall that this is precisely how the participants in the Helsinki Conference understood this issue; they did, after all, spend nearly two months arguing over the difference between two terms —

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## WITH ANDROPOV'S ASCENT — A RETURN TO STALINISM?

(Continued from pg. 1)

turned gray, and he could barely speak. There was no hiding the effect of the chemical and psychological means of pressure that had been used against him. Still, the regime got what it wanted: within two weeks after the trial Yevdokimov appeared on television with a recantation.

After its success with the Russian activists, the regime took its experiment to Ukraine. There, however, the situation is somewhat more complex: the Ukrainian Helsinki Group is still in existence, and none of its members have renounced their beliefs. Many reports had previously reached the West which revealed how the KGB worked on the imprisoned members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in order to extract confessions. In January 1983 a report reached the West giving details of the KGB's attempt to "reason" with all the members of the Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk's family — him, his wife and his son. As in Yevdokimov's case, when drugs fed him began to work prematurely, the KGB was caught in a lie. It tried to explain the Romanyuk's unexpected confession was a result of the campaign in his defense in the West. But there really was no such campaign, if one excludes a

few incidental mentions of his case in the Ukrainian emigre press.

Another case of a Soviet dissident renouncing his views is that of the well-known Uzbek writer Mamadali Mahmudov, laureate of the Uzbek Komsomol Prize. Mahmudov, author of the popular work *Olmas Qoyalar* (Immortal Cliffs) made a public confession a few weeks after Brezhnev's death.

The "confessions" of the Russian activists, the Rev. Romanyuk, Mahmudov and others, and of those who will renounce their long-held views in the future, in no way discredit them. They are just additional evidence that they, like innumerable others before them, fell victim to the methods of terror perfected by the Soviet organs of repression over the past 60 years. Their confessions are black marks only against the Soviet regime and the entire Soviet system. The tyrants, having at their disposal every physical, chemical, and psychological means of persuasion and coercion, succeed in breaking the will of some. So it should not be any surprise, nor any kind of sensation, if these confessions are followed by others.

The regime headed by Yuriy Andropov has set its course, and its orientation is on Stalinist methods of terror.

### HELSINKI HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISION NOT AN "INTERNAL" MATTER

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"nonintervention" and "noninterference."

The Soviet Union insisted on the term "noninterference" in internal affairs, while Western delegates insisted that the term "nonintervention" be approved, which is what happened.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that today, in our era, after the cataclysm of World War II, after the U.N. Charter, after the approval of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, after the proclamation of international covenants on civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, after a plethora of resolutions on these rights at U.N. forums and, finally, after the signing of the Final Act on Security and Cooperation in Europe, it is no longer within anyone's power to reverse the wheel of history on the issue of human rights and deny the central place that these rights occupy in international relations. To claim that human rights always were

and remain a matter within the "internal, domestic jurisdiction of the state" is to say that all these documents (and some of them are truly of epoch-making significance) are *ultra vires*, that is, illegal.

It is worth emphasizing again: the Helsinki Final Act confirmed that human rights are an integral and appropriate subject of international attention and concern, inasmuch as they were on the agenda of the debates of a European conference lasting several years and became a part of an international document signed at the highest level by representative of 35 states, including the United States and the Soviet Union.

That great masses of people on both sides of the European border have taken a deep interest in this document indicates that it is not just another "piece of paper" that can withstand anything. In our opinion, this "piece of paper," this document, has become the "Achilles' heel" where it was least expected.

### RUSSIAN ORTHODOX ACTIVIST PLEADS WITH POPE: "SAVE YOSYF TEREYA"

In February 1983 Ye. Sannikova, a Russian and a member of the Russian Orthodox Church, appealed to Pope John Paul II to intercede on behalf of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, outlawed by Soviet authorities, and one of the Church's lay activists, Yosyf Terelya. The U.S. delegation at the CSCE meeting in Madrid received a copy of Sannikova's letter and disseminated it among many of the other delegations, including that of the Vatican.

Below is the full text of the letter.

To His Holiness  
Pope John Paul II

Your Holiness:

I turn to you with an appeal to intercede on behalf of a most beautiful person, a Catholic, the Chairman of the Committee of the Ukrainian Catholic Church (UCC) and of the Committee to Defend the Rights of Believers in Ukraine, Yosyf Mykhaylovych Terelya.

For more than 30 years, the UCC has been banned by law and forced to exist underground. The authorities deal har-

shly with priests, persecute believers, and do everything to put an end to its existence. But, in spite of all that, the UCC exists.

The fate of Yosyf Terelya is a clear example of the fate of a Catholic persecuted by the Government only because he is an honorable, brave man and a true Christian, accepting any deprivation or torment in the name of good and love, and prepared to lay down his life for his friends.

More than half of Terelya's life has been spent in jails, camps and prison

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#### Andropov and the Jewish Issue

When Andropov first came to power some members of the Western media claimed that he was of Jewish descent. It has been impossible to substantiate this in the West; meanwhile, his official biography, published in the Soviet press, rather than offering new information, in fact, served to make Andropov an even more mysterious figure, a man without distinction who very quickly climbed to the top rung of the Soviet police hierarchy. Whatever the truth may be, Andropov's national background is of no significance; he serves the interests of the Russian imperial state, as did Stalin, a Georgian, before him.

Soviet policy in the "Jewish issue" changed somewhat after Andropov came to power. It became more of a "carrot-and-stick" policy. Andropov took "journalist" Viktor Louis, a well-known KGB agent whose articles the Western press (especially the European) publishes with gladness — out of mothballs. Louis, in a recent article claiming that mass Jewish emigration from the U.S.S.R. has come to an end, unambiguously and cynically told the Jews of the West: "The last train has left the station." (This is obvious: while in previous years thousands of Jews emigrated every month from the U.S.S.R., in January 1983 only 81 Jews left, and in February only 123.)

#### The U.S.S.R. at the Crossroads of New Problems

The gerontocracy ruling the U.S.S.R. is inexorably faced with the question: can it overcome all the internal problems, resolve the nationalities issue, crush dissent, institute rational reforms, end the war in Afghanistan, while suppressing its own expansionist tendencies in other parts of the world? Will it dare to address these issues without resorting to Stalinist methods?

The first six months with Andropov in power indicate that the gerontocracy has chosen to go with the worst kinds of

In Moscow, an "Anti-Zionist, Citizen's Committee" was formed, made up of Soviet Jews prominent in the military, science and literature. Branches of this committee are being formed in many Soviet cities. In return for this support of the Soviet regime, Andropov has promised Soviet Jews the publication of a Russian-Yiddish dictionary (which was first compiled in 1948, initially scheduled for publication in 1979, and which now finally is to appear in print in 1984). A Yiddish primer has already been published in an edition of 10,000, and an advanced Yiddish study course has been established in Moscow's Gorky Institute of Literature. In March 1983 a book by American Yiddish writer Morris Ghitzi of Chicago was published as a supplement of a Soviet Yiddish-language literary monthly.

With these few concessions, promises made to Soviet Jews and a certain easing of restrictions in the area of culture and religion, the regime hopes to "bring them over" to its side and disarm Western Jewry. The halt to Jewish emigration from the U.S.S.R. may be explained in terms of the regime's fear of losing to emigration an unacceptably high number of Jewish specialists in various fields and, secondly, its desire to deflect somewhat anti-Soviet statements by Jews in the West.

Stalinist methods. The best indicators of this are the public confessions recently forced from dissidents. Over the next few months they could serve as a kind of indicator of the state of internal affairs in the U.S.S.R. If it was a country whose authorities intend to institute democratic reforms and bring about an improvement in the areas of culture, religion, politics and the nationalities issue, there would be no room for anything like forced recantations.

### IN WHOSE INTERESTS?

## A UKRAINIAN DEATH IN AFGHANISTAN

(Continued from pg. 1)

The choice of "Sashko" Stovba as hero was an easy one for the regime: his grandfather Andriy, as a soldier of the Red Army, had helped conquer Turkmenistan for the Soviet empire. Still, on reflection, the choice may not have been all that appropriate, from the regime's point of view. Stovba did graduate from the Frunze Military School in Kiev and was commissioned a lieutenant, it is true. But in the published poems, in his letters, in his daily journal, there is not a word which indicates that he was a Komsomol member or communist by conviction, not a word of approval of the invasion of Afghanistan, not a word of praise for the party or the Russian people (though he wrote his poems in Russian), not a word that points to a feeling of "Soviet patriotism." Everything there is quite the opposite: his journal, his letters to his mother and brother, are all in Ukrainian; the *Ranok* feature about him mentions that he read Plato, Sophocles, Aristotle, Ovid, Saltikov-Shchedrin, Herzen, Giordano Bruno, Galileo, Konratyuk, Tsilkovsky, Korolyov; he immersed himself in the poetry of Taras Shevchenko. There is no mention of anything by Marx, Engels, Lenin, or

Brezhnev's *The Virgin Lands*. Stovba's own poems are full of philosophical reflections, lyricism, and of love for the Dnipro and his native land; there is not a word about Moscow, the Komsomol, or the party.

"Sashko" Stovba belongs not to them, the regime, but to the Ukrainian people. His poems and letters are filled with a sorrow, a longing for the native land he left, the land he was forced to leave to go fight and die in far-off Afghanistan. To fight and die for the oppressors of his own people.

In a letter to his mother, there is a premonition of death (perhaps his unit was in an especially threatening situation): "Mother, as long as you live, please greet my friends on their birthdays, if something happens to me." With the letter he sent his friends' addresses. Two weeks later he was dead.

We doubt that the story of Lieut. Oleksander Stovba's tragic death in Afghanistan will inspire other Ukrainian boys to volunteer to help subdue that country. The opposite will happen: the example of "Sashko" Stovba will serve as a warning for millions of young men of Ukraine and the other nations of the U.S.S.R., a warning of what awaits them in a land that is not theirs.



## AMERICAN CSCE DELEGATION SALUTES WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE U.S.S.R.

Max Kampelman, Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, issued a statement honoring women imprisoned by the Soviet government for their defense of the principles embodied in the Helsinki Final Act. Below is the full text of the statement, issued on March 11, 1983, in Madrid, the site of the Conference.

This week, International Women's Day was commemorated all over the world. It is fitting that we here in Madrid, well into the third year of our meetings seeking understanding under the Helsinki Final Act, take particular note of some of the extraordinary women of courage whose activities have clearly been felt in our deliberations.

The inhumane treatment by Soviet authorities of their country's citizens who have sought to instill the Helsinki spirit into that society knows no distinctions as to sex. Of the fifty-one Helsinki monitors arrested and sent by Soviet authorities to prisons, labor camps and internal exile, seven are women. The American Delegation wishes to honor them and others associated with them by publicly noting a number of their names so that they might be known and honored by others as well.

Oksana Meshko, a Ukrainian Helsinki Monitor, was sentenced in 1981, at age seventy-five and a diabetic suffering from hypertension, to six months labor camp and five years of internal exile.

Oksana Popovych, fifty-eight years old and an officially declared invalid, was consigned to a strict regimen labor camp, where she arrived on crutches in 1975 for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. She joined the Helsinki Monitoring Group while serving her seven-year term at hard labor and currently is in very frail health in internal exile.

Tatiana Velikanova, a long-time human rights activist, was sentenced in August 1980 to nine years of labor camp and exile.

Irina Grivnina, a member of the Working Commission on Psychiatric Abuse,



Oksana Meshko

affiliated with the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group, serving out a five-year term of internal exile under difficult conditions, is now six months pregnant, cruelly pressured to have an abortion and is required to perform heavy work at a construction site.

Rayisa Rudenko, wife of Ukrainian Helsinki Monitor Mykola Rudenko, and

Olha Heyko, married to Ukrainian Group Member Mykola Matusevych, watched as their husbands were dispatched to the camps. Subsequently, they were condemned to the same fate for speaking out in their behalf and for continuing their monitoring activity.

Three months ago Moscow Group Member Tatyana Osipova declared a hunger strike to protest the fact that she had not been permitted to communicate with her husband, prisoner of conscience Ivan Kovalyov. There is serious concern for her health.

Galina Vilchinskaya, a twenty-four year old Baptist, was arrested for her religious beliefs and activities in November 1982 and is in pre-trial detention. She had been freed only three months earlier upon completion of a three-year camp term for having taught children's Bible classes.

Annasoltan Kekilova, a Turkmen, and Iryna Ratushynska from Ukraine, follow a long and sad tradition of poets who have suffered at the hands of the Soviet Government because their verse pierces the conscience and touches the heart, revealing dark truths about Soviet society and human nature. Kekilova had been in psychiatric confinement for over a decade. Ratushynska was sentenced only a week ago to seven years labor camp to be followed by five years of internal exile. It is the harshest known sentence handed down to a woman prisoner of conscience in recent memory.

These women acted in defense of freedom and in doing so have lost their own. Now, they are enduring the rigors of punishment. The American Delegation salutes each of them for the immense contribution they have made to the process which will one day make the Helsinki Final Act a relevant and meaningful contributor to the achievement of peace for all of us.

UNCENSORED NEWS FROM THE U.S.S.R.

A new system of imprisonment in the U.S.S.R. The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. has devised a new, additional system of punishment, effective January 1, 1983. The new system is called the V.T.P. — "Vypravno-Trudovoy Prophylactoriy" (Corrective-Labor Prophylactorium). It is presently not known how this system will differ from the prisons or labor camps.

Denial of permission to emigrate. Many individuals in the U.S.S.R., who for many years have been attempting to gain permission to emigrate, are now being summoned to the OVIR (emigration bureau) to be informed of a final refusal of permission to emigrate.

## RUSSIAN ORTHODOX ACTIVIST PLEADS WITH POPE: "SAVE YOSYF TERELYA"

(Continued from pg. 10)

psychiatric hospitals. He has undergone unbelievable torments. But, nothing can break him. Each time, returning to freedom, he began his noble work — the work of a Christian, a member of Christ's church, a fighter for truth and justice and a preacher of the word of God.

The last time, Terelya returned from the Dnipropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital, which is famous for the terrible sadism of its physician-jailers and unbearable conditions of confinement. His health already was seriously damaged. But, he again took up the difficult work of a son of the persecuted Church; arranged to get believers religious literature; organized help for political prisoners and aid for the poor, sick and suffering; headed the Committee of the UCC. A witness to the pitiless persecution of believers, he together with several other equally brave persons, created the Committee to Defend the Rights of Believers in Ukraine in September 1982 and was elected its chairman.

The KGB followed him constantly, threatened him, called him in for interrogations, arranged open, around-the-clock surveillance of his house and arrested him again on December 24, 1982.

He was formally charged with parasitism, a purely Soviet concept clearly demonstrating the character of our system. Each person must officially be part of the government service. If not, he is a parasite, a criminal. If in any civilized country a man cannot find suitable work, he receives unemployment compensation; with us, he must take the first job that comes along or go to jail.

The article on parasitism has been and continue to be used broadly against believers and free thinkers. There are many examples. For example, last summer in Uzhhorod in Transcarpathia, Halyna and Oleksander Maksymiv, mother and son, were convicted of parasitism; the real reason for the arrest was their principled rejection of Soviet citizenship. Halyna Maksymiv, an old, almost blind woman with heart problems, indeed an invalid, was fired from her job without any reason and convicted of parasitism.

Yosyf Terelya was prepared to accept

any job, but the authorities deliberately prevented him from working in his village (Dovhe, Irshavsky District, Transcarpathian Region). Not one organization would hire him, and he had to earn a living by private, hired work. In November 1982 the authorities warned him that he would be arrested for parasitism if he did not find work in one month. To find work, Terelya had to leave a pregnant wife and 5-year-old daughter and work in another town, in Lviv. However, the authorities trailed him there, and the organization which had agreed to hire him refused to do so at the last moment.

And he was arrested.

For many long days, Terelya's wife had no news. She, a weak woman in her eighth month of pregnancy, had to turn to the investigatory division of the district and regional procuracy to seek her husband. She found him, at last, in the Uzhhorod Investigatory Jail.

Terelya was formally charged with parasitism. But the Irshavsky district Procurator authorized searches of his effects and the confiscation of religious literature and human rights material. On February 3, 1983, I was contacted about the Terelya affair. The search was like a robbery. The searchers came late in the evening, broke in the door to my apartment, searched it all night and did not even put their names on the protocol (written report) of the search. Only by their actions could one guess they were KGB. A large quantity of human rights literature, books, letters, addresses and even my manuscripts were taken. What does all this, one asks, have to do with a case of parasitism? Information reaching me from Ukraine says that Catholics were searched and religious literature seized as part of the Terelya case.

Thus, the authorities do not conceal that the accusation of parasitism is just a pretext for convicting Terelya for his religious and human rights activities. Moreover, there is reason to fear that his case will be turned into a political one. If the penalty for parasitism is 2 years, that of the political article is 10 years in jail and 5 in exile. They also may subject him again to a psychiatric examination during which KGB agents in white smocks will make a fake diagnosis and

send him for an indefinite period to a psychiatric hospital.

Will he survive these trials — in poor health, with a weak heart, already having had a heart attack?

One can say almost with certainty that spiritually he will survive, physically he will not. He will not leave there alive.

Your Holiness. It is not for me to say how dear your voice is to us and how greatly supportive your every word is. I believe that with your tremendous authority you not only can snatch another victim from the executioners, but you also can support Yosyf Terelya and all those persecuted children of your Greco-Catholic Church.

I myself do not belong to the Catholic Church. I am Orthodox. But all the same, I am worried and afraid for the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church which may suffer the same fate as the Russian Orthodox Catacomb Church, cruelly destroyed in the bloody years of the Stalin-terror. My motherland is Russia. And exactly for this reason am I so disturbed by the events in Ukraine, united to Russia by one fate, one unhappiness, one pain.

In worry and concern not only for the life of Yosyf Terelya, but also for the fate of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church and all the Ukrainian people, once again I beg you, save Yosyf Terelya.

Ye. Sannikova  
Moscow

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# THE BOMBS OF JULY

by Basil Roshdestwensky

The following article contains an eyewitness account of an air raid by the Soviet Air Force upon the Ukrainian capital of Kiev during World War II. Basil Roshdestwensky, the author, was thirteen years old when he witnessed this attack and the subsequent mass burial of its victims.

Dr. Roshdestwensky graduated from the Ukrainian secondary school in Berchtesgaden, Germany, 1949, and went on to study medicine in Munich and Mainz, Germany, where he graduated as a physician in 1960. He has been working in the medical field since then in a variety of settings, serving in the United States military, university and industrial medicine, as well as in private practice.

Dr. Roshdestwensky is currently employed by the United States government. The views expressed in this article do not necessarily represent the standpoint of the United States government or any of its agencies.

... Beloved City,  
may your dreams be pretty,  
forever sing,  
forever blossom in the spring ...  
*Russian Air Force Song*

The summer of 1943 was at its peak when the fortunes of the German armies at the Eastern Front started to fade. Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, had by that time been under German occupation for almost two years.

During the first part of July 1943, a nighttime bombing raid by the Soviet Air Force occurred, hitting the Opera House, the House of the Railroad Trade Union, as well as the corner of Lenin-Korolenko streets near a restaurant — all targets frequented by Germans and, therefore, closed off to the local population. That particular attack has been described in detail in the historic and literary treatise "Babi Yar" by Anatole Kuznetsov. Kuznetsov goes on to say that the "civilian population of Kiev never suffered any casualties from Soviet bombing raids."

This is not so and it is what this article is about. Kuznetsov had to tell a white lie in order to bring his book past the Soviet censorship to get it published. After Kuznetsov's dramatic escape to the West the author of this article attempted unsuccessfully to contact him and to get him to change that one sentence in "Babi Yar." Kuznetsov, as is known, died shortly after his escape, thus precluding any modifications of his book. Having said this, I wish to express gratitude and posthumous recognition to Anatole Kuznetsov for his truly remarkable and unique book on the history of our city.

The present article is about a bombing attack conducted by the Soviet Air Force on Kiev on or about July 20, 1943, in which several hundred (some say about one thousand) citizens of Kiev perished.

\*\*\*

It was a night raid by about one hundred bombers devoted almost entirely to the destruction of the Mykolsko-Botanic Street<sup>1</sup> and the surrounding district near the Botanical Garden in

Kiev. The raid lasted over one hour and created overwhelming sound and light effects. Many of the attacking planes were caught in the crossbeams of the German searchlights, but not a single one was shot down by the halfhearted fire of the German anti-aircraft guns. The sirens were not working and no warning was given to the population. For reasons undetermined, not a single German fighter plane scrambled to defend Kiev. One may speculate that this was so because the attack occurred far from any German military target areas. The entire city was engulfed in bright lights produced by flares dropped by the attacking planes. The flares, as they descended, produced eery and fast moving shadows of building and trees. Deafening blasts and airwaves shook the entire city for about one hour.

The results became visible the next morning when the Mykolsko-Botanic Street and surrounding areas lay in ruins. There was also scattered destruction throughout the rest of the city — here and there a ruined house or apartment building. Bomb fragments with Russian and American<sup>2</sup> factory markings were found everywhere. It was the first time in our experience that large-scale bombs — the so-called "blockbusters" — were used with devastating results, wiping out entire apartment buildings with one blast and creating huge craters.

Two days later the victims of this air raid received a mass funeral without precedence in the history of Kiev. Trucks were lined up from the Opera Theater to Shevchenko Boulevard — a distance of about one mile. They were laden with coffins piled on top of each other and bound with ropes so as not to fall off. The coffins were of various sizes with many of them being small and, obviously, containing bodies of children. Others were oversized, evidently containing several fragmented bodies put together without identification. Sad and moving was the sight of mourners following each truck — one of the trucks contained predominantly small coffins and was followed by only one couple, evidently a father and mother who had

lost all of their children. They walked noiselessly, unable to cry, with their faces bent deep down to the ground. A brother and sister between the ages of eight and ten, hand in hand, followed a truck with grown-up-sized coffins evidently carrying their parents and all of their friends and relatives. About twenty church choirs from various cathedrals and churches intoned the solemn funeral chant of the Eastern rite. The high clergy of Kiev, in full regalia and with burning incense, prayed for the rest of the souls of the dead. The throng of thousands of citizens of Kiev followed the procession up Korolenko Street and Zhytomyr Street into the Northwestern suburbs where the victims were buried in a mass grave at the Lykianiv cemetery. A plaque of granite was erected on their grave with an inscription in the Ukrainian language about who lay buried there and why.

Such was the sequence of events and we may now return once more to Kiev during the time of German occupation. Let us for a moment consider: Who were the victims of the above-described attack?

The population of Ukraine was "technically friendly" and "compatriot" to the Red Armed Forces. Our sons, fathers, and brothers were serving in the ranks of the Red Army fighting the Germans. The Ukraine is, as is often stated, in an "eternal" union with Russia since 1654 when a treaty promising Ukraine protection and defense was signed by the Ukrainian Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the Russian Czar Alexis I. This treaty, signed over three hundred years ago and the original of which has long been lost, should have been the first thing abrogated by a Marxist government devoted to the welfare of the working people. However, in a complete travesty of Marxist logic, the Soviet government transcribes the Treaty of Pereyaslav into present day bondage of Ukraine to Russia. In theory at least, the people of Kiev in 1943 were full citizens of the Soviet Union, entitled to full protection of the Soviet Armed Forces or, at least, nonaggression by them.

Before the war, during the 1930's, many Ukrainians had been arrested, exiled, jailed or executed by the Secret Police mainly under the accusation of "Ukrainian Nationalism," that is, for speaking Ukrainian and living the Ukrainian way of life.

The people who had survived the artificially orchestrated starvation catastrophe of 1933, the purges of the 1930's, the mobilization into the Red Army and the slaughter on the battlefields were now being herded by the Germans into the slave labor camps of Germany, or starved and shot by them as hostages.

Then, in July 1943, to top it all off, the Soviet Air Force arrived to finish off those who were left. No wonder there were so many small coffins in those trucks!

As I write this article, forty years have elapsed and a sad anniversary is coming. I write this not to blame anyone personally, not to complain, but to state the facts. Every one of us who has lived through the war knows that civilian populations suffer during conflicts. The mere fact of an air raid with coincidental victims during wartime does not necessarily imply a sinister meaning by the perpetrators. Extenuating circumstances for errors may be: bad weather with fog, rain, high winds or low overcast, heavy anti-aircraft fire by defenders, dense wire mesh nets suspended from balloons, smokescreens used by ground defenders, heavy use of fighter aircraft by defenders, inexperienced attacking pilots, faulty

ground intelligence or a combination of the above. The weather was fine, the defense nonexistent. The pilots or at least the commanders in 1943 had had two years of combat experience. If we consider the prior raid, the ground intelligence was not the worst. How then can the Botanic Street raid be explained?

In civilized countries incidents like the Botanic Street raid are followed by outcries in the press, official inquiries, embarrassing questions to cabinet members, removal of commanders to lesser commands, demotions in ranks, reprimands, etc. I have followed the Soviet press for forty years and the only reference to the July raids on Kiev has been in Kuznetsov's "Babi Yar," and that contained a false disclaimer on lost lives.

The granite plaque in the Kiev graveyard has undoubtedly been removed and destroyed by the returning Red Army upon the "liberation" of Kiev — thus following the fate of the Golden Gate, the Tithe Church, the grave of Duke Constantine Ostrozki, St. Michael's Cathedral<sup>3</sup> and countless other monuments to the cycle of life and death of the Ukrainian nation.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>May be loosely translated as "Nicholas Botanic Street." In Kiev's recent history, street names have often been changed and new construction has been common. The present-day name of Mykolsko-Botanic Street is not known to the author. The site of the July 1943 bombardment may be very difficult to find and a foreigner or even a native might be arrested for trying.

<sup>2</sup>The result of the "Lend-lease" program whereby military supplies and equipment were sent from America to the Soviet Union.

<sup>3</sup>Cultural and historical edifices and monuments destroyed by various aggressor and occupation forces from the Tartars in the 13th Century to the Soviet Russians and Germans in the 1930's and 1940's or, as in the case of the Golden Gate, through centuries of neglect by the Russian Tsarist government.

A word to the readers, especially former Kievans, Ukrainians and otherwise: please write to us at the Smoloskyp Editorial Board. We would value your memories of this event. Maybe you remember details such as the exact date (which I don't remember), names of individual victims or families, what happened to those injured (Kiev's hospitals were being used exclusively by German troops) and other tragic aspects of this story which I cannot provide. Maybe you have access to an archive of German military reports where this might be mentioned (I have no doubt that no Soviet reports have ever been published). As for myself, I feel that it is my duty as a member of the human race to tell this story.

*Data on emigration from the U.S.S.R.*  
In 1982, 2,692 individuals emigrated from the U.S.S.R. on visas to Israel. (In comparison 9,447 left in 1981, 51,330 in 1979). From the above number, 733 went to Israel, and the remainder to the U.S. and other countries. In breaking down the number among republics: 1,105 left from Russia, 590 from Ukraine, 263 from Georgia, 250 from Latvia, 137 from Lithuania, 91 from Byelorussia, 73 from Uzbekistan, 67 from Moldavia, 37 from Estonia, 36 from Tadzikistan, 33 from Azerbaijan, 7 from Kazakhstan, 2 from Armenia, and one from Kirghizia. In addition to the above individuals who left on visas to Israel, the U.S.S.R. permitted an additional 400 individuals to emigrate (most of them Armenians), whereas in 1981 the number was 2,450. In January 1983, 81 individuals left the U.S.S.R. on visas to Israel, only 19 of which actually settled in Israel.

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# SMOLOSKYP

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A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE

SUMMER—FALL 1983

## Madrid and Beyond — The Helsinki Process Continues

by Dante B. Fascell

Congressman Dante B. Fascell (Dem.) has been representing Florida's 19th District for 29 years. He has been Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe from its inception in 1976. He served as Co-chairman of the U.S. delegation to the CSCE Conferences in Belgrade (1977-1978), and in Madrid (1980-1981). Congressman Fascell has been a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs since 1957; Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Operations since 1977; and is a member of the Subcommittee on International Security and Scientific Affairs. He is also a member of the Committee on Government Operations; Subcommittee on Legislation and National Security; and Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control.

After nearly three years of long and often arduous negotiations, the 35 signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe have reached agreement at Madrid.

The Madrid Review meeting began on November 11, 1980, under the shadow of Afghanistan, Poland, and continuing human rights violations in the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries. Despite the gloomy atmosphere, the meeting produced a more thorough and candid review than was achieved in the previous review meeting in Belgrade. Throughout the course of the Madrid meeting, Western nations, led by the United States, were much more critical and specific in citing examples of Eastern violations of the Final Act. The U.S. delegation cited 119 individual cases of human

rights violations in the U.S.S.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia. A large number of these were members of the Moscow, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Georgian, and Armenian Helsinki Monitoring Groups. When specific cases were cited or their countries directly attacked, the Soviets and East Europeans often responded with claims of "interference into internal affairs." On a few occasions, they undermined these oft-repeated claims by criticizing alleged U.S. shortcomings. Rarely did the Soviets respond to the substance of the accusations made against them.

Among the human rights concerns raised by the U.S. delegation and other Western delegations were the Soviet government's invasion and occupation of Afghanistan; the persecution of human rights activists; anti-Semitism; the continuing repres-

sion suffered by Ukrainians and others who have spoken out for their cultural and linguistic rights; the Russification of the Baltic peoples; and the widespread persecution of religious activists. Although the period of November 11 to December 19, 1980, was specifically set aside for the



Congressman Dante B. Fascell

actual review of implementation, continuing Soviet and Eastern violations of the Final Act made it necessary to extend this review throughout the entire Madrid meeting.

After the formal review, the signatories, while continuing to criticize the East for its lack of compliance with the Final Act, turned their attention to discus-

(Continued on pg. 4)

## A Struggle for Peace and Freedom, or a Soviet Front?

*The Twenty-second International Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*

by Lesya Verba

The twenty-second International Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) took place in Göteborg, Sweden, from August 1 to August 6, 1983. The WILPF, which has branches in many countries worldwide, is known for its activity in support of "peace and freedom." It has the status of a nongovernmental organization at the United Nations and works closely with many other international organizations.

There is no doubt that many members of this organization are idealists with deep convictions about the relevance of their organization's activities to peace and freedom in the world. The rhetoric of the organization's leaders creates an impression of objectivity and impartiality. The

fact that many women worldwide are interested in issues relating to peace and freedom, disarmament, and the threat of nuclear war is a positive phenomenon. And if the WILPF and its leaders were indeed objective and impartial, concerned about the nuclear threat from not only the U.S. and Western countries, but also from the U.S.S.R., then it would deserve full support.

Unfortunately, the recent Congress in Göteborg showed otherwise: almost every presentation, whether at the plenary sessions or the evening lectures, was directed primarily against the U.S. and other Western countries. Not one of the speakers had the courage, or perhaps the inclination, to speak out against the genocide of the Afghan people by Soviet armies.

No one addressed the threat posed by Soviet nuclear-armed missiles (the SS-4, SS-19, and SS-20), which are already strategically placed throughout Soviet territory — in Ukraine, Byelorussia, and the Baltic states. The only exception in this regard was Inga Thorsson, the noted Swedish diplomat and longtime employee of the U.N. For her objective analysis of the relative strengths of the nuclear arsenals of East and West and for her emphasis on the Soviet threat, Ms. Thorsson received applause and a standing ovation from only a segment of the Congress' participants.

Even during lectures on prostitution and abortion, the speakers used statistics and examples relating only to the U.S. Not one word was said

## Great Famine in Ukraine Remembered

In 1932-33 a famine of monstrous proportions struck Ukraine — over 7 million died. But this, the greatest tragedy in the history of the Ukrainian people, was not the result of a natural catastrophe — the harvest was plentiful in the land once known as the "breadbasket of Europe." The loss of 7 million Ukrainian lives — the famine was confined almost exclusively to the Ukrainian countryside and the Ukrainian-settled Kuban region of the North Caucasus — was the expected outcome of a policy of genocide, conceived in Moscow and carried out by hordes of foreign Communist activists and troops. The aim of the Soviet regime under Stalin was to force through the collectivization of agriculture in Ukraine and, more importantly, to destroy the Ukrainian peasantry, the most nationally conscious segment of the Ukrainian nation.

The rest of the world largely ignored the Ukrainian tragedy,

thanks to a massive campaign of disinformation launched by the Soviets, which was aided greatly by the naivety of some Western reporters in the U.S.S.R. and the conscious complicity of others. (Walter Duranty, the Pulitzer Prize-winning correspondent of the *New York Times*, for example, was instrumental in the Soviet cover-up). The world knows very little of it today; the Great Famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine has become the "Forgotten Holocaust."

But the Ukrainian people have not forgotten. This year they mark the 50th anniversary of their great tragedy. Thousands came to Washington, D.C. for Commemorative Week, September 25 to October 2, to mourn the 7 million martyrs, and to reinforce their resolve that such a crime must not be allowed to be perpetrated again.

(Photographs and other materials from Commemorative Week in Washington appear on pages 6 and 7).

## ZORYAN POPADYUK SENTENCED TO MAXIMUM TERM

Sources in Ukraine report that, on March 4, 1983, in Aktyubinski, Kazakhstan, Ukrainian human rights activist Zoryan Popadyuk was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and five years' exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Popadyuk, born January 21, 1953, is a former student of Lviv

University. In 1973 — at age 20 — he was sentenced in Lviv to seven years' imprisonment and five years' internal exile. At that time he was accused of publishing a *samvydav* student journal, *Progres*, and of disseminating Ukrainian *samvydav*. In March 1980 he was sent into exile in Kazakhstan, where he became seriously ill and had a lung operation.

Popadyuk was arrested again in October 1982, half-way through his term of exile. After a six-month investigation and interrogations of many of his friends, Popadyuk was sentenced to the maximum term of punishment.

Popadyuk's friends in Kiev and Lviv claim that Zoryan was so ill that he was incapable of engaging in any human rights activity.

Observers in Ukraine believe that Popadyuk's trial signals an attempt by the government of Andropov, former KGB chief, physically to dispose of all former Ukrainian political prisoners, all former members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists or the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and all persons who are connected in any way with the Ukrainian human rights movement.

about these issues in the U.S.S.R. and other countries, as if they did not exist there.

Smoloskyp, a human rights group that works for the cause of peace and freedom in Ukraine and Eastern Europe, was invited to participate in the WILPF's Congress in Göteborg. What a disillusionment it was for Smoloskyp's members, who expected that women supposedly driven by the idea of world peace and freedom would be eager for friendly, objective dialogue on these issues from all sides and with all who came to Göteborg!

The behavior of some official representatives of this Congress towards members of the Ukrainian group Smoloskyp was strongly reminiscent of the darkest practices of fascist and other totalitarian regimes towards their

(Continued on pg. 5)



# SMOLOSKYP

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## Still Much to Learn

Those of us who have nurtured a deep-down hope that the Republican administration, or at least the conservatives within it, possesses a better understanding of Soviet intentions, strengths, and vulnerabilities than did previous American leaders, were in for a disappointment recently. Two episodes in the American response to the Soviets' downing of Korean Airlines Flight 007 illustrate how far American leaders are from understanding the internal dynamics and relationships of our most potent adversary.

Among the U.S. measures taken in response to the wanton slaughter of the 269 civilians was the decision to postpone negotiations on the opening of an American consulate in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine. President Carter similarly "punished" the Soviets in 1979 after the invasion of Afghanistan, withdrawing the advance group in Kiev that was well on its way to establishing an American presence there. It was a bad mistake then — from the viewpoint of U.S. interests — and it has just been repeated. An American consulate in Kiev would say to the people of Ukraine: We recognize your aspirations, we know of your history, culture and claim to a national identity all your own. Inasmuch as Ukraine, with its 50 million people and wealth of national resources, presents the only viable threat to the final forging of a monolithic Soviet society, this could only be in U.S. interests. The Soviets, knowing this, have resisted the opening of an American consulate in Ukraine's capital. We have made it easy for them, again.

The second is even more appalling. In his September 5 televised speech to the nation, President Reagan spoke of "getting the truth to the Russian people." Did the President really mean that the U.S. cares not a whit about the Lithuanians, Georgians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, and all the other non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R.? Or is it something more basic, more frightening, that the President and those who advise him are of that same mentality that equates all of the Soviet Union with "Russia," inhabited only by Russians? Such attitudes at the highest level of the U.S. government are disturbing, especially when it comes from those who claim to understand the reality of the Soviet threat. How can we hope to win the hearts and minds of the various nationalities locked up in that prison of nations that is the U.S.S.R. if we keep denying their very existence? In the end we will be the big losers.

## One Hundred U.S. Congressmen Appeal to Andropov in Behalf of Oksana Meshko

As a result of efforts by the Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine, coordinated by Ihor Olshaniwsky, one hundred Members of Congress sent an appeal to Yuriy Andropov on August 2, 1983, asking that Ukrainian political prisoner Oksana Meshko be released from internal exile for humanitarian reasons.

Seventy-eight-year-old Oksana Meshko, a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was sentenced on January 6, 1981, to six months' imprisonment and five years' internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." She is currently in exile in Ayan, a village in a desolate region of Siberia, where the climate is extremely harsh. The conditions of exile are life-threatening to Oksana Meshko, who had a heart attack in 1976 during a police search of her apartment, and suffers from severe hypertension, glaucoma, and arthritis.

Regarding your article in the Spring 1983 issue, "Andropov and the Jewish Issue," I would have to disagree that there is a "carrot and stick" policy. None of the hundreds of Soviet Jews who are in contact with us have seen any carrots. The purely anti-Semitic articles in the Soviet press have increased tremendously and the Jewish cultural groups have been stopped completely. The Torah (the first five books of Holy Scripture) have been declared "anti-Soviet."

The so-called "Anti-Zionist Citizens' Committee" is made up completely of Quislings. None speak for the masses of Jews! The main spokesman for the group is Col. General D. Dragunsky, who trains P.L.O. terrorists in the Soviet Union.

If Yiddish language publications increase it is only because the Soviet government is trying even harder to suppress the Hebrew language — which is the true language of the Jewish minority. Those Jews who are trying to revive Jewish culture want to learn and read Hebrew — not Yiddish. Yiddish language publications are used by the government

## Letters to the Editor

for purely propaganda purposes.

Andropov has increased the pressure on Hebrew teachers. Yosef Begun, who has already served two terms in exile, is now in Vladimir Prison. The reason? Teaching Hebrew! The arrests and threats against the teachers and students have made this activity increasingly dangerous. Meanwhile, fewer and fewer Jewish young people are admitted to institutions of higher education.

In conclusion, the Andropov regime could not possibly "bring them over" to its side and disarm Western Jewry with these methods. Only when Jewish emigration is freely allowed and when Hebrew language and Jewish culture and religion are freely allowed will the regime "deflect somewhat anti-Soviet statements by Jews in the West." It does not seem to us that the Andropov regime is trying in any way to appease or please either the masses of Soviet Jews or the Jews of the West.

Babette Wampold, President  
Alabama Council to Save  
Soviet Jews  
Montgomery, Alabama

I subscribe to "Smoloskyp" and am very impressed by the quality of the paper. It is extremely informative and very well-written. However, in the Spring 1983 issue there was one sentence that did not fit.

In the article "With Andropov's Ascent..." the very last statement of the article on page 10 begins with a reference to the U.S.S.R.: "If it was a country..." It's not!

I sincerely believe that the rest of the world must begin to realize that the U.S.S.R. is not a country but an empire which dominates smaller countries, such as Ukraine. For this reason, publications such as yours can serve to help educate the general public regarding the U.S.S.R.

Apparently, the statement to which I referred was an error because on the very same page, in the article directly below, the term "Soviet empire" is used in the very first paragraph.

Best wishes for all future publications!

Paul Bartkiw  
Fenton, Michigan

## A Russian Dissident Speaks on Nationality Issues

An Interview with Ludmilla Alexeeva

Russian human rights activist Ludmilla Alexeeva, a long-time member of the democratic movement in the Soviet Union, was closely involved with the publication of the leading samizdat journal, Chronicle of Current Events. In 1976 she was one of the founding members of the Moscow Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the U.S.S.R. In her work for the Chronicle and in the Moscow Helsinki Group Ludmilla Alexeeva had as her main field of responsibility and interest the problems of the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union.

In February 1977 Ludmilla Alexeeva was forced to emigrate from the U.S.S.R. She now resides in the United States, where she has remained active in defense of human rights and acts as the Moscow Helsinki Group's representative abroad.

The following interview with Ludmilla Alexeeva was recorded during the recent conference on "Law and Repression in the Soviet Union" held at Harvard University's Law School.

**Q.** Most of the participants in the human rights movement in the Soviet Union stressed their commitment to Soviet laws and in their activity cited the Constitution and international agreements. They were nevertheless tried and sentenced; on the part of Soviet authorities there was absolutely no acknowledgement of the movement's dedication to principles, the rule of law and non-violence. Considering the failure, if you will, of the open, legal approach used up to now by the human rights movement, do you foresee any change towards extra-legal methods of struggle?

**A.** Because, as you correctly pointed out, the human rights movement, which used open and non-violent methods, was so harshly suppressed, there is presently a certain inclination to underground methods,

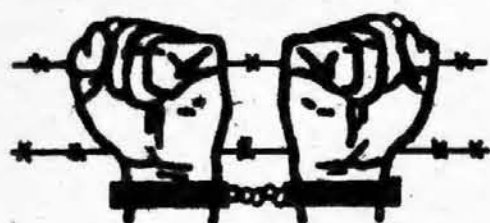
especially among the youth. Some even say that, you know, you can't deal with them (the authorities) with words, you have to deal with them with force. So, there is the idea of a violent struggle. This makes me sad, because I think that under Soviet conditions this is something that is absolutely impossible and harmful. First of all, it is impossible. Why? If we take, let's say, the history of the Ukrainian movement and the Lithuanian movement, we know that during the war and after the war armed resistance continued and was brutally put down. The flower of the nation died. For a long time there was a freeze on any kind of resistance. Afterwards, when these nations had recovered somewhat from their defeat, these movements were reborn in a peaceful, non-violent form. In both places. I am convinced

that it was the experience of the destruction of the armed resistance that showed that under Soviet conditions the only possibility is a peaceful movement for the preservation of rights. For it is easier to spread and, as strange as it may sound, it is more difficult to combat. It is more difficult to isolate this kind of people than those who use violent methods. That's one. And why do I feel that underground, violent methods of struggle are not only hopeless, but harmful? Because in our brutal society, where the state also treats its citizens brutally and where hard living conditions, I would say, brutalize people and lead to much cruelty in relations among them, I think that cruelty should not be fought with cruelty. Our world is cruel enough even without that. In my opinion, only the propagation of the law and of the nonviolent defense of justice can improve the moral health of our society and help return to it the human face which it has lost to a considerable degree.

**Q.** We know that among the Russian intelligentsia there is an understanding and acknowledgement of the struggle of different peoples — Ukrainians, Lithuanians, others — for their national rights. Is there a similar understanding of this struggle

(Continued on pg. 4)





# POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

## UKRAINE

1. **Balatsky, Anatoliy M.** Born 1939; Baptist; sentenced in April 1983 in Voroshylovhrad to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

2. **Bozhok, M.** Student of the Mathematics Faculty at Uzhhorod University; Jehovah's Witness; arrested and sentenced in 1981 in Uzhhorod to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

3. **Chahayda, Borys.** Officer of special KGB units; adherent of Ukrainian independence; killed three officers and five soldiers of the KGB; being held in a special psychiatric hospital in Dnipropetrovsk. No further details are available at this time.

4. **Elbert, Lev.** Born September 30, 1948; engineer; Jewish activist; sentenced May 25, 1983, in Kiev to one year of imprisonment for attempting to emigrate from the U.S.S.R.

5. **Fylypyshyn, Viktor.** Born March 17, 1939; Baptist from Khotyna, Chernivtsi Region; arrested March 22, 1982; sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

6. **Hermanyuk, Stepan H.** Born August 15, 1934; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1973-1980); arrested May 9, 1983, in Voroshylovhrad; sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

7. **Kokurina, Valentyna I.** Born May 29, 1930; Baptist; sentenced May 27, 1983, in Voroshylovhrad to 2-1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

8. **Malynovsky, Mykola O.** Born 1931; engineer; sentenced in 1981 in Chernihiv to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

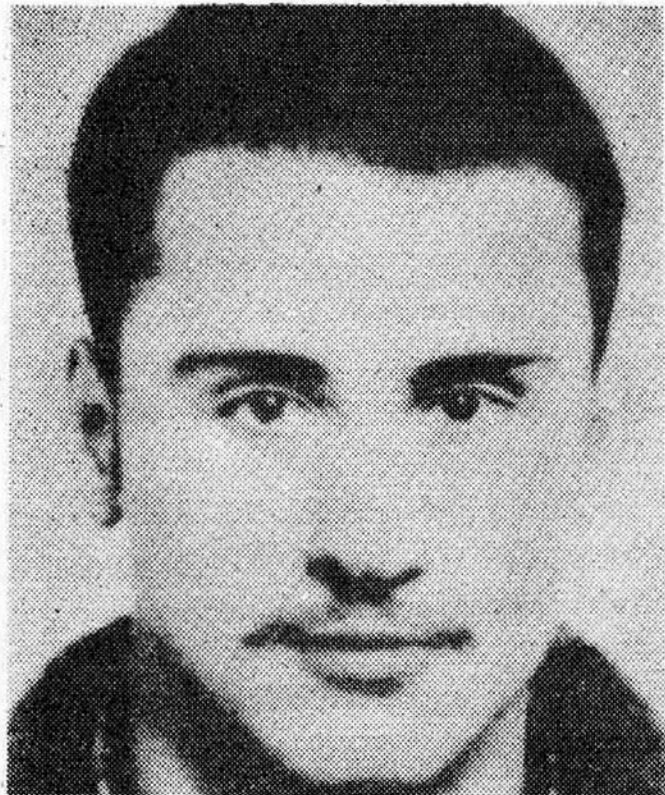
9. **Mishchenko, Volodymyr.** From Donbas; sentenced March 26, 1983, in Sovyetskoye, Tyumen Region, to one year of imprisonment for collecting signatures on a petition about nuclear disarmament.

10. **Panfilova, Alevtyna O.** Born January 29, 1936; Baptist; sentenced May 27, 1983, in Voroshylovhrad to two years' imprisonment for religious activity.

11. **Popadyuk, Zoryan.** Born January 21, 1953; student; former political prisoner (1973-1980); sentenced in Aktyubinsk to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for Ukrainian human rights activity.

12. **Rytkov, Pavlo T.** Born July 30, 1930; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1979-1982); arrested April 2, 1983, in Voroshylovhrad; sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

The individuals listed below were arrested or sentenced in the past few months for their activities in defense of human, national or religious rights in the U.S.S.R. Some were sentenced on fabricated criminal charges in an attempt to discredit them.



Zoryan Popadyuk

13. **Sashnyev, Pavlov V.** Baptist; sentenced in April 1983 in Voroshylovhrad to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

14. **Shatravka, Oleksander.** Born October 6, 1950; former political prisoner (1974-1979, 1980, 1981); sentenced March 26, 1983, in the village of Sovyetskoye, Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Territory, to 3 years' imprisonment for collecting signatures on an appeal about nuclear disarmament by the U.S. and U.S.S.R.

15. **Soltys, Ihnatiy.** Ukrainian Catholic priest; leader of a group of "penitents" from the village of Vasyuchyn, Ivano-Frankivsk Region; arrested in 1980; sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

16. **Tarnopolsky, Yuriy.** Born 1937; chemist; Jewish activist; sentenced June 30, 1983, in Kharkiv to 3 years' imprisonment.

17. **Terelya, Yosyf.** Born October 27, 1943; Ukrainian human rights and religious activist; former political prisoner (1962-1981); sentenced April 12, 1983, to one year of imprisonment.

18. **Tyahun, Ivan M.** Baptist from Kirov, Voroshylovhrad Region; sentenced in April 1983 to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

## ARMENIA

1. **Khonizuri, Heorhiy** (pseudonym, Ernest Harayev). Born 1940; geologist; co-worker of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian S.S.R.; sentenced in July 1983 in Yerevan to 6 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for human rights activity.

2. **Papayan, Rafael A.** Born 1946; philologist; professor at Yerevan University; sentenced in July 1983 in Yerevan to 4 years' imprisonment and 2 years' exile for human rights activity.

## ESTONIA

1. **Alayan, Allan.** Born 1958; Catholic activist from Tallin; sentenced in Leningrad to 10 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

2. **Saarits, Matti.** Born 1961; student of the Building-Mechanical Technical Institute in Tallin; sentenced February 15, 1983, to 1-1/2 years' imprisonment for tearing down a Soviet flag in Tallin on the day of L. Brezhnev's funeral.

## GEORGIA

1. **Panarev, Aleksandr.** Born 1964; Jewish activist; sentenced in April 1983 in Sukhumi to one year of imprisonment for refusing to serve in the army.

2. **Paylodze, Valentyna S.** Born September 11, 1923; religious activist; member of the Initiatory Group in Defense of Human Rights in Georgia; former political prisoner (1974-1975; 1977-1980); sentenced May 25, 1983, in Tbilisi to 8 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for human rights activity.

3. **Skvortsava, Lyubov.** Born 1953; Baptist from the settlement of Ipnar in the Georgian S.S.R.; sentenced May 27, 1983, in Voroshylovhrad, Ukraine, to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

## LATVIA

1. **Dronina, Lidiya.** Born 1925; nurse; Baptist; former political prisoner (1948-1959; 1970-1972); sentenced August 9, 1982, to 5 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for human rights and pacifist activity.

## LITHUANIA

1. **Abrutiene, Edita.** Sentenced in July 1983 to 4 years' imprisonment and 2 years' internal exile for human rights activity.

2. **Bieliauskiene, Yadviga.** Former political prisoner (served 10 years in the 1950s); sentenced in May 1983 in Vilnius to 4 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for human rights activity.

3. **Sadunas, Jonas.** Born 1935; engineer; sentenced May 24, 1983, in Vilnius to 1-1/2 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

## RUSSIA

**Human Rights Activist Dies**  
**Tomachynsky, Viktor.**  
Born 1945; co-worker of the

samvydav journal "Poyiski," sentenced May 3, 1983, in Volohod to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activity. While in Volohod Prison, he died of as yet unknown causes on July 11, 1983.

1. **Abramkin, Valeriy.** Born May 19, 1947; engineer; former political prisoner (1979-1982); arrested in a concentration camp before his release and sentenced on April 4, 1983, to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

2. **Barats-Kokhan, Halyna.** Pentecostalist; sentenced June 30, 1983, in Rostov-on-the-Don to 6 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for religious activity.

3. **Borodin, Leonid I.** Born April 14, 1938; writer; pedagogue; former political prisoner (1967-1973); sentenced May 19, 1983, in Moscow to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for samvydav activity.

4. **Butchenko, Yuriy A.** Born 1940; mechanic; former political prisoner (1975-1982); sentenced in July 1983 to one year of imprisonment.

5. **Cherkov, Nikolay.** Baptist; former political prisoner (1960-1962); activist in the movement to emigrate from the U.S.S.R. for religious and political reasons; sentenced September 8, 1982, in Voronezh to 3 years' imprisonment.

6. **Kopisov, Ivan P.** (pseudonym, Ivansky I.). Born 1921; journalist; writer; author of many books; sentenced September 8, 1982, in Voronezh to 2 years' imprisonment for writing nonconformist literature.

7. **Manilovych, B.** Born 1940; psychologist; sentenced April 4, 1983, in Leningrad to 3 years' imprisonment. After the trial he made a statement of penitence.

8. **Panteleyev, Vladimir.** Born 1942; worker; sentenced in the summer of 1982 to 2 years' imprisonment for his participation in the Voronezh Helsinki Committee.

9. **Repin, Valeriy T.** Born February 12, 1951; journalist; co-worker of the Russian Citizens' Fund to Aid Political Prisoners; sentenced May 24, 1983, in Leningrad to 2 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for "betraying the Fatherland." During the trial he made a penitent statement, which explains the short term of imprisonment not contemplated by the Criminal Code.

10. **Smirnov (Kosteryn)**

**Aleksey O.** Born February 2, 1951; engineer; sentenced May 13, 1983, in Moscow to 6 years' imprisonment and 4 years' internal exile for human rights activity and participation in the "Chronicle of Current Events" and "Bulletin V."

11. **Solovyov, Vladimir I.** Born 1949; Baptist; sentenced May 14, 1982, in Sverdlovsk to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

12. **Verkhonsky, Anatoliy M.** Born 1944; writer; sentenced September 21, 1982, in Kaluga to 1-1/2 years' imprisonment for writing nonconformist articles.

13. **Volokhonsky, Lev Ya.** Born May 16, 1945; member of SMOT and co-worker of the Information Bulletin of this independent trade union; sentenced May 24, 1983, in Moscow to 5 years' imprisonment and 4 years' internal exile.

14. **Vysotsky, Aleksandr.** Born 1952; archeologist; americanologist; sentenced in summer 1982 to 3 years' imprisonment for participating in the Voronezh Helsinki Committee. ■

## U.S. SENATOR DOLE REMEMBERS IMPRISONED HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS

In a recent speech to his colleagues, Senator Robert Dole (R.-Kan.) marked the 6th anniversary of the trials of three human rights activists in the U.S.S.R. — Mykola Rudenko, the head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; Anatoliy Shcharansky, founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Group and a leading Jewish activist; and Viktoras Petkus, founding member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group. The trials took place in July 1977. Senator Dole stated that "the only crime of the three individuals was that they dared to express aloud their desire for freedom." Senator Dole continued, "This (the Soviet) regime considers as criminally anti-government the honest voice of Anatoly Shcharansky, the deep faith of Petkus, and the pen of poet Mykola Rudenko." ■

## BERLINERS IN SOLIDARITY WITH SAKHAROV

In Berlin 50 persons took part in a hunger strike from July 1 to 3, 1983, to express solidarity with exiled Russian human rights activist and Nobel Laureate Andrei Sakharov. The strike, organized by Viktor Sparre, a Norwegian artist and friend of Sakharov, included former Soviet citizens, Germans, Americans, Poles, Afghans, and members of other nationalities. ■



## Madrid and Beyond — The Helsinki Process Continues

(Continued from pg. 1)

sing new proposals designed to enhance the Helsinki process. Despite intensive deliberations throughout much of 1981, the East and West could not reach agreement on proposals dealing with the fundamental issues of human rights and military security. A Western attempt, in July 1981, to break the impasse on these two fundamental issues was rejected by the East. Toward the end of the year, however, the neutral and nonaligned nations introduced a compromise proposal for a concluding document. While the proposed document made important steps toward meeting Western objectives, it did not totally satisfy them. The December 13, 1981, declaration of martial law in Poland, however, halted any attempts to agree on a concluding document.

After a brief recess, the Madrid meeting resumed on February 9, 1982, with the Foreign Ministers of the NATO countries, including Secretary of State Haig, resolutely condemning the Polish imposition of martial law and placing the blame for this serious breach of the Final Act on both the Polish authorities and the Soviet Union. Because of the repression in Poland, the West refused to resume negotiations on a concluding document encompassing new agreements. A Soviet attempt to force a return to negotiations was opposed by a united and resolute NATO and the meeting was adjourned.

When the meeting resumed in November 1982, the West returned to the negotiating table after reaching the decision that, despite any significant change in the international situation, its interest would be better served by negotiating. To take into account the Polish situation, the poor Eastern human rights record, and the continuing occupation of Afghanistan, the NATO signatories introduced a series of tough amendments. This produced often heated debate and frequent Soviet attacks characterizing the amendments as efforts by the West to inject needless polemics. A revised neutral and nonaligned document, which incorporated only minimal changes based on the Western amendments, was submitted on March 15, 1983. That revised document, with improvements to it produced by Spain in its capacity as host on June 17, 1983, has become the official concluding document of the Madrid meeting.

The Madrid concluding document contains a number of provisions which add to Helsinki Final Act language. These provisions deal with the rights of workers to organize, religious

rights, human rights, Helsinki monitors, human contacts and family reunification, access to diplomatic and consular missions, information, rights of journalists, and measures against terrorism. The document also provides for convening a Conference on Security and Confidence Building Measures. This conference, a direct offshoot of a NATO-endorsed French proposal, is to discuss measures designed to reduce the fear of surprise military attack. It contains a significant advantage for the West in that the confidence-building measures to be discussed are applicable to the entire European part of the Soviet Union all the way to the Urals, a significant improvement over the relevant Final Act provisions.

Significantly, the concluding document also schedules a number of specialized meetings designed to further the Helsinki process. These meetings include an Experts' Meeting on Human Rights in Ottawa, Canada, lasting six weeks and beginning on May 7, 1985, and an Experts' Meeting on Human Contacts, in Berne, Switzerland, lasting six weeks starting April 16, 1986. Other meetings scheduled are an Experts' Meeting on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, a meeting in Helsinki in 1985 commemorating the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Final Act, a Cultural Forum in Budapest, and a seminar in Venice on Mediterranean cooperation. Also, the next follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will be held in Vienna starting November 4, 1986.

While the Madrid concluding document does not contain as forceful human rights language as the West and the neutral and nonaligned nations would have preferred, it is important to remember that every word in the concluding document must be agreed upon by each of the 35 signatories.

Despite the important, albeit limited achievements made at Madrid, the ultimate goals of the Helsinki process cannot come to fruition as long as flagrant violations of agreed-upon words by the Soviet Union and other Eastern signatories continue. Unfortunately, Madrid has failed to produce any credible sign that the Soviet Union intends to live up to its new commitments. Moreover, there is no convincing proof as yet that the Soviets are acting in a less repressive manner or that they intend to release political prisoners.

While nobody expects Madrid to alter fundamentally the repressive nature of the Soviet system, there is some hope that eventually it will have some beneficial effect. At the very least, there is

## A Russian Dissident Speaks on Nationality Issues

(Continued from pg. 2)

gle among the masses of the Russian people?

A. I think that there would be if our citizens were informed about the real state of affairs in the country. All information is in the hands of the state, all means of information, beginning with children's primers in all the languages of all the Soviet nations to scientific research and literature, not to mention the media, such as films, newspapers, etc. And all of them generally paint a false picture of the world. And so a person can draw conclusions about nationality problems only on the basis of one's own experience and the experience of one's acquaintances. Therefore, a Lithuanian knows that Lithuanians are oppressed. But talk to a Lithuanian about Ukrainian problems. He will tell you: "What oppression? Soon the Ukrainians will become Russians." They draw conclusions on the basis of who is in the government, you understand. Not to mention that many Russians say things like this. And they are speaking sincerely. They do not know, they do not understand the problems of other nations. I think that disinformation is the strongest means of keeping people apart and weakening the struggle of the nationalities. The problems of the different nations of the Soviet Union are very similar. The Lithuanian and Ukrainian and the Georgian, etc. Everywhere

the expectation that the Soviets will make the gestures of good will which they are rumored to have promised. The value of Madrid, indeed, lies in the fact that it continues a process whose ultimate goal is the achievement of genuine security and cooperation in Europe, of which respect for human rights is an essential ingredient. The concluding document of Madrid continues to set standards of international behavior and provides for mechanisms whereby the behavior of signatory states is thoroughly reviewed. More concretely, it affords the West an opportunity to ensure that critical attention is given to the behavior of the Soviet Union and other East European states. While there are no legal mechanisms for enforcing compliance with either the Helsinki Final Act or the Madrid concluding document, the CSCE process provides valuable fora for international pressure on those countries that do not abide by their Helsinki commitments. The value of these fora at which continuing official Western concern is manifested should not be underestimated.

— it doesn't matter to whom you talk — there are two main problems: first of all, forcible Russification and, secondly, economic plundering. But everyone knows only about himself, everyone thinks that only he is being Russified, that



Ludmilla Alexeeva, member of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group and its external representative.

only he is being plundered in the interest of all the others. But take our movement, what it accomplished. We tried to fight this disinformation, we tried simply to inform people about the facts — no ideology whatsoever, just the facts — what was happening in Ukraine, what was happening in Lithuania, what was happening in Georgia, and so on. When these facts were coming in to us, we saw that all of them have problems. I am Russian. Can I, being Russian, understand and — together with the Ukrainians, together with the Lithuanians — take their problems to heart? I am convinced that I am not some kind of freak within my nation. Others could also respond to the problems of the non-Russian peoples. I think that the non-Russian peoples also understand our problems. We also have our problems. In other words, they wouldn't have such anti-Russian attitudes, which exist in all the nations and which I accept with humility, because they, in their own way, are right in their anti-Russian attitudes. I also would hate people who, uninvited, came into my home to be masters in my home.

Q. In your statement (at the Conference on Law and Repression in the Soviet Union) you said that Ukraine for a long time has been the proving ground where the KGB tries out new methods. What are the reasons for this?

A. It is difficult for me to say. Over a period of many years I had simply observed this and I am absolutely convinced that this is so. Because — well, everything confirms this. For many years now it really does seem

to be that way. They start in Ukraine and then extend it. On the basis of the fifteen years of experience of taking part in, say, the *Chronicle of Current Events*, where I dealt with the problems of different nations, I can say that nowhere is there a more brutal suppression of the national movement than in Ukraine. Why? I can only surmise. I do not know why they practice such policies. They don't explain. But I think that it is because the 50-million-strong Ukrainian people — the largest of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union — poses perhaps the greatest danger for them. Undoubtedly, they think that the potential for independent existence as a state is greater for such a people than it is for smaller peoples and perhaps this is why they fear that movement most and suppress it with the greatest harshness. This is what I think.

Q. During the last few years there has been a definite change in the way Soviet authorities have dealt with dissenters, a move away from persecution based on the so-called political articles — Article 70 (of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.) and Article 62 (of the CC of the Ukr.S.S.R.) — to an obvious fabrication of criminal cases. What are the reasons and significance of this change in strategy?

A. You know, it is not quite that synonymous. It is precisely in Ukraine that they switched from the political articles to the criminal. But, let's say, with respect to the Jewish movement, they began by charging Jews with espionage, then after 1970 they began to use only criminal charges against Jewish activists — not one was charged on the basis of the political articles — and now they once again have returned to charges based on the political articles. And in Ukraine, interestingly enough, they also did not completely abandon the use of political articles. There the lesser known participants in the national movement are imprisoned on the basis of Article 70 (Article 62); they are given the maximum sentences. Mazurov, Kravnyk — well, there are many examples of Article 70. And whom do they put on trial on the basis of the criminal articles? Take a look. These are, basically, the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. I think that this is a completely deliberate attempt to discredit these people, precisely for the reason that they have become widely known. They want to

(Continued on pg. 9)



## A Struggle for Peace and Freedom, or a Soviet Front?

(Continued from pg. 1)

nations' fighters for freedom. Members of the Ukrainian group were not only insulted by some members of the Congress and the official representatives of the U.S.S.R., Ms. Semenova and Ms. Koval, but were also ordered to leave the Congress building even though they had received official permission to put up a stand there displaying information about imprisoned and persecuted women in the Soviet Union. Some official representatives of Sweden and the U.S. also demanded that the Ukrainian group stop distributing its information about the nuclear threat from the U.S.S.R. and about the human rights movement, the Helsinki monitoring groups, and the peace movement in the U.S.S.R. (which are not sanctioned by the Soviet government). In the hall where the plenary sessions were held, Soviet propaganda brochures (such as "The Soviet Women's Committee," "How Would Disarmament Affect Each of Us," and "Soviet Peace Initiatives") were freely distributed, along with the WILPF's official materials; meanwhile, Smoloskyp's materials were routinely confiscated from the same table. Through these undemocratic practices, a segment of those responsible for this Congress thus took the side of the book burners of history (for example, Hitler in 1933 and Stalin during his reign of terror in the U.S.S.R.). There is no way to explain how women who proclaim themselves fighters for peace and freedom could have conducted themselves in a manner so undemocratic and so totally unbecoming to persons in the twentieth century.

In addition to the behavior of a segment of the delegates and official representatives, the report of the General Secretary of the WILPF further testifies to the fact that this organization is one-sided, and is being exploited by the Soviet government for its own political and propagandistic aims.

That report states, for example:

The 'selling' of new strategies and doctrines based on waging and winning nuclear war, accompanied by heightened anti-Soviet and anti-communist rhetoric aimed at discrediting the governments of socialist countries constitutes a dangerous material and psychological preparation for a global confrontation.

The report then concludes:

To break down the barriers erected by this false portrayal of the socialist countries as the enemies of the 'West,' we must establish cooperation among all who stand for disarmament and peace.

How can the WILPF claim

that others cast "false portrayals" of socialist countries, when their own delegates refused to see a true portrayal of these countries as evidenced by Smoloskyp's factual exhibit on imprisoned and persecuted Ukrainian women? And, after what the Soviets did to Korean Airlines Flight 007, by what stretch of the imagination can they be placed among those "who stand for disarmament and peace?" Only the very naive or the very calculating could really believe the truth of such statements.

Luckily, many principled delegates to this Congress proved to be real fighters for peace and freedom in the world. After acquainting themselves with Smoloskyp's materials, especially the statement of the Ukrainian position, they gave their full support to the group, something which that segment of the Congress' organizers who had demanded the Ukrainian group's removal was forced to acknowledge under pressure from these women. In answer to the women's demands, the Smoloskyp group was allowed to keep the stand exhibiting its materials and was

given a separate room to hold a workshop, led by Marta Harasowska. The workshop proved that a lot of women worldwide are really interested in the problems of human rights and the Soviet nuclear threat. The calm, rational, and unemotional tone of the workshop showed that complex issues relating to the fight for peace, freedom, and disarmament, and against war and all types of enslavement, could be discussed with those persons who came to the Congress in good faith, and not to exploit it for one-sided attacks against one country or one system, hushing up problems of national discrimination and disregard for human rights in fascist and communist countries.

Printed below is the full text of the "Ukrainian Position," drafts of Ukrainian resolutions, and the text of a leaflet that Smoloskyp distributed at the WILPF Congress. Many of the registered participants of the Congress expressed a great interest in the human rights and unofficial peace movements in the U.S.S.R., and asked to be placed on Smoloskyp's mailing list. ■



Marta Harasowska by Smoloskyp's stand in Göteborg, at the 22nd Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The stand featured an exhibit entitled "Ukrainian Women for Peace and Freedom Persecuted in the U.S.S.R."

### The Ukrainian Position

On the issue of Peace and Freedom, presented at the International Peace Forum in Göteborg, Sweden

The issue of peace has never been as urgent as it is today. Tens of thousands of nuclear warheads threaten the very existence of human life. That is why the mass demonstrations of the last few years in Western Europe and the United States are so encouraging. Millions of citizens recognize that peace is a people issue and are willing to add their individual voices to the weight of public opinion to counterbalance the drive toward an escalating arms race.

Unfortunately, the multitudinous demonstrations and free debate in the West on the peace issue stand in stark contrast to the brutal suppression of even those few courageous individual voices in the East that declare their desire to join

the people's movement for peace and disarmament.

In the last decade, those of us who are committed to peace and human rights were encouraged to see Helsinki Monitoring Groups organized by citizens in Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, and Moscow. Last year, unofficial nuclear freeze groups were organized in four Soviet cities. Without exception, the Helsinki monitors and the peace advocates were either arrested, exiled, or terrorized into submission. Scores of brave activists remain behind barbed wire, among them members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group Oksana Meshko and Olha Heyko-Matusevych; other Ukrainian women — Raisa Rudenko, Iryna Ratushynska, and Hanna

Mykhaylenko; and members of the Moscow Helsinki Group Tatyana Osipova and Malva Landa.

The horrible experiences of this century testify to the evil potential of technology and organization. World Wars I and II claimed tens of millions of lives. The state-organized famine in Ukraine fifty years ago killed over seven million people. More recently, millions were massacred in Kampuchea.

If human beings are capable of such atrocities, it is clear that a nuclear holocaust cannot be ruled out. For that reason, individuals must take a stand on principles involving peace, life, and human rights. Many citizens in West Germany, for example, have exercised their right to protest the deployment of Pershing II missiles in their country. Shouldn't the citizens of Ukraine, then, have a similar right to protest the deployment of SS-20 missiles in their country? Shouldn't the citizens of Lithuania be permitted that same right? And Russians, as well? It seems not, for many of their countrymen have been arrested for voicing the same views freely voiced by hundreds of thousands of Germans.

We are not so naive as to think that Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Russians, and other peoples of the Soviet Union will soon have the opportunity to express their views the way we can here at this Peace Forum or

Americans did last year in New York's Central Park. We are convinced, however, that there is a most important principle involved: world peace is a vital issue that must actively involve people on both sides of the nuclear barricade. Individuals, regardless of their nationality, race, sex, or religion, must have the opportunity to express freely those rights guaranteed in state constitutions, the Helsinki Final Act, the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, and other documents that all of us are honoring by our presence here.

This Forum gives us an opportunity to speak out meaningfully for the principles of peace and human rights. We propose the passage of resolutions calling on the Soviet Union to demonstrate its commitment to peace and human rights by releasing the imprisoned Helsinki monitors and peace advocates and permitting the free exercise of those rights we enjoy at this Conference. We also propose that similar resolutions be delivered to the 22nd Triennial Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom so that the League can use its contacts with the United Nations, the ILO, the FAO, and with Soviet officials to convey directly the sentiment of our Forum for the release of those imprisoned on behalf of human rights and peace.

We urge that delegates to this Peace Forum give these measures their wholehearted support.

### Ukrainian Resolutions

Submitted to the Peace Forum and to the 22nd International Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Göteborg, Sweden

We recognize that peace is more than the absence of war, that its full realization requires the active participation of ordinary citizens. We, therefore, urge the Soviet government to promote the interests of peace by releasing those imprisoned members of citizens' groups in Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, and Moscow who took upon themselves the task of monitoring government compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords. We further urge the Soviet government to release those imprisoned peace activists who organized groups in Moscow, Leningrad, and Novosibirsk in Russia and in Odessa, Ukraine, to promote the cause of bilateral nuclear disarmament and world peace.

Women have traditionally stood steadfast in defense of the related causes of peace and human rights. To demonstrate solidarity with women imprisoned in the Soviet Union for just such activity, we call on the Soviet government to release the imprisoned members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, Oksana Meshko and Olha Heyko-

Matusevych; Ukrainian human rights activists Raisa Rudenko and Hanna Mykhaylenko; the poet Iryna Ratushynska; and the imprisoned members of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group, Malva Landa and Tatyana Osipova. We urge that the above-named women be freed and permitted to resume their efforts on behalf of human rights and peace. ■

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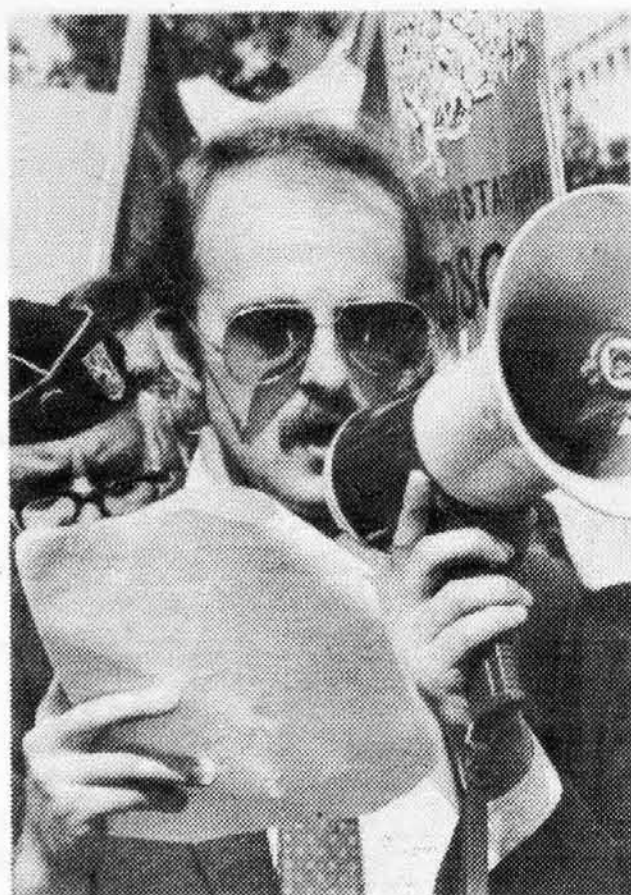
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Orest Deychakivsky reading the "Letter to the Kremlin from Ukrainian Americans" near the Soviet Embassy.

**Excerpts from an address by Congressman Don Ritter in the House of Representatives:**

As we mark this important event and remember those who suffered untold agony and deprivation, let us also think of Ukrainians today who are forced to live under totalitarian rule of the Soviet Government. Their suffering and continued struggle for freedom stands as a monument of strength to the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian nation...

Mankind has known famine in different parts of the world, famine brought about by war, drought, flood and other natural disasters. But never and nowhere have any people suffered so devastating a famine as that inflicted as a matter of policy by the Soviet Government against the Ukrainian people in the years 1932 and 1933...

During this 1-year period, over

same government would shoot down an unarmed civilian airliner just a few short weeks ago. But I think now they believe it.

Memories of the Ukrainian famine should haunt every civilized man, woman, and child, as the Holocaust against the Jews and other peoples of Eastern Europe



Some of the hundreds of signs carried in the October 2 demonstration.

haunt the memory of man today. These stories should not be left to scholars alone. They need to be told in schools and churches so that the horrible memory may in some way prevent this from happening again. And, yes, teach the survivors and the people today about the character of the perpetrators...

**Excerpts from remarks in the House of Representatives by Congressman Smith:**

After five decades, the moral and political relevance of the Ukrainian genocide is stronger than ever. We must understand that what the great famine represents to the American people and

**Excerpt from the speech by General George Keegan, Jr., at the rally by the Washington Monument:**

It was just some 50 years ago that the Soviets undertook to exterminate five to eight million Ukrainians, a slaughter rivaling the wanton murder of six million Jews and five million Poles under the Nazis. We come here today to honor the living survivors and the honored dead who were the victims of this



Maj. Gen. George Keegan, Jr., former aid to President Eisenhower and present head of the President's Advisory Board, addressing the rally at the Washington Monument.

mass genocide, in which an effort was made to exterminate an entire people. In a larger sense, we are here to condemn evil in its most monstrous form — international communism. An evil which feeds on the subjugation of all who are free, on the extermination of those

Commemorative Week in honor of the more than 7 million Ukrainians that died in the Great Famine of 1932-33 began on Sunday, September 25, 1983, with religious memorial observances in all Ukrainian churches throughout the United States. That evening the first of the nightly candlelight vigils was held near the Embassy of the U.S.S.R. in Washington. A press conference was held on Tuesday in the U.S. capital, with British historian Dr. Robert Conquest, Dr. James Mace, Dr. Martha Bohachevska-Chomiak, former Soviet dissident Lev Kopelev, and Adrian Karatnycky. On Wednesday, the American Enterprise Institute held a conference on the famine, moderated by Michael Novak. That afternoon the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine in Ukraine was marked with a special order in the House of Representatives, sponsored by Congressman Don Ritter (D.-Pa.) and cosponsored by Congressman Gerald Solomon (R.-N.Y.). More than 20 Congressmen took part in the special order. Throughout the week a photographic and documentary exhibit on the famine was on display in the Cannon House Office Building. The culmination of Commemorative Week came on Sunday, October 2. Thousands of Ukrainian Americans, representing communities in most of the 50 states, gathered near the Washington monument for a mass rally. They were addressed by Mr. Morton Blackwell, special assistant to the President for public liaison, who read President Reagan's

who resist, and which thrives on the capture and enslavement of entire populations on a scale so great as to defy practical description or rational analysis.

**Excerpts from a statement delivered by Chris Gersten, Executive Committee founder and Chairman of the Freedom Foundation:**

The purpose of our gathering here this week is to condemn one of history's most heinous crimes. It is also to bring to the attention of our elected leaders the truth about the nature of the threat posed by the Soviet Union. A commemoration is more than a remembrance. A commemoration cannot have substance unless it is part of an active process to make sure such crimes cannot happen again. The memory of the famine must become part of our culture.

**Excerpts from remarks in the House of Representatives by Congressman Johnson:**

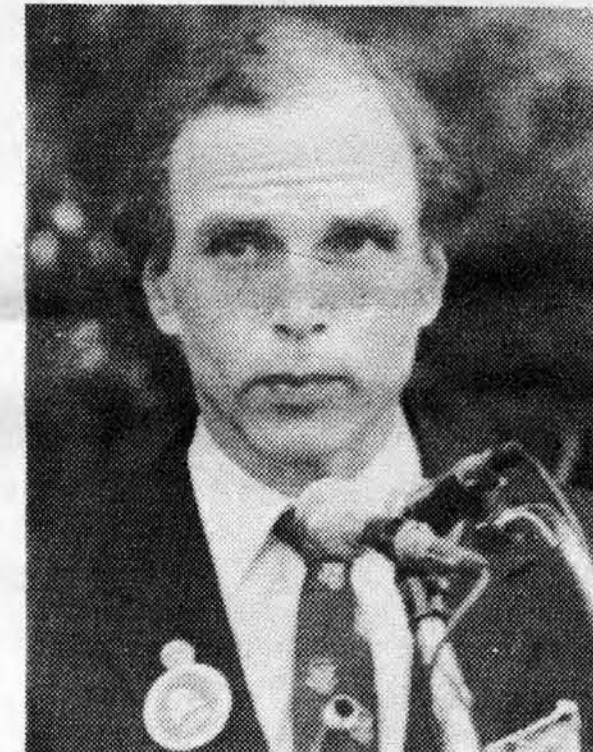
It is an outrage that this artificially created famine, which resulted in the massacre of 7 million Ukrainians, remains until today largely unrecognized. It is insulting to the survivors and a reprehensible blot on our collective conscience.

The magnitude of the catastrophe in the Ukraine comes into sharp focus with the statistics on the Soviet population between the years 1926 and 1939. While the total population of the U.S.S.R. increased by 15.7 percent during that period, the population of the Ukraine actually decreased by

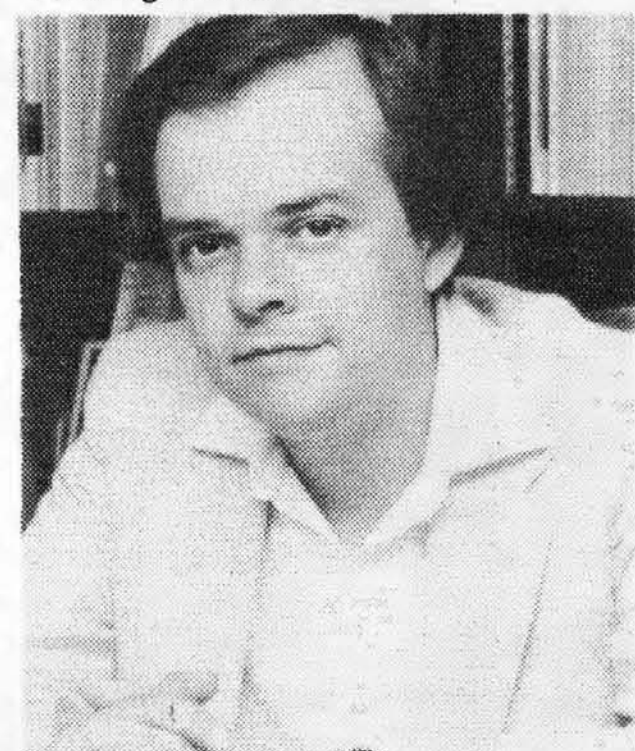
almost 10 percent over the same period. The population was literally decimated.

**Excerpts from remarks in the House of Representatives by Congressman Fiedler:**

The Ukrainian genocide was not an aberration, a moment of Stali-



Congressman Don Ritter (D.-Pa.), co-chairman of the Congressional Ad Hoc Committee on Ukraine and the Baltic States, addressing rally at the Washington Monument.



Dr. James Mace, Harvard University fellow and expert on the Famine in Ukraine. Dr. Mace took part in the press conference, the AEI Conference, and a two-hour radio talk show.

nist excess, something the Soviet Government regrets in its past. The Soviets do not reject Stalinism. They embrace it as glorious and a guide to future policy. The methods Stalin used in the Ukrainian famine and later in the Great Purge and a whole galaxy of greater and lesser horrors are an integral and intrinsic part of the nature of the Soviet state.



These symbolic coffins for the more than 7 million victims of the Great Famine were carried at the head of the march.

7 million Ukrainians perished. It took the Nazis 5 years to destroy 6 million people, using sophisticated technology. It took the Soviet Government 1 year to destroy 7 million people. Unfortunately, this holocaust has not received the attention that it should, and unfortunately, while the Nazis were defeated and while their works against humanity have been widely distributed and communicated and published, this particular crime is less known.

Our nation has been fortunate that war, surrender, famine has not been brought to our shores from foreign powers. It is hard for Americans to imagine the suffering of the Ukrainian people. Who would believe that a government would have a policy that would foster such a situation? It was hard for Americans to believe that this

to people throughout the world, is the barbaric extermination of an independent-spirited people — their culture and their national heritage — for the purpose of extending the political homogeneity of a brutal Soviet regime.

The free world has witnessed repeated expressions of the Soviets' commitment to imposing its system of government, ideology, and culture on sovereign states. The subjugation of Eastern Europe and the invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Afghanistan are but a few episodes. However, the sheer atrocity of the great famine, in which an average of 10,000 men, women, and children died each day, makes the willful extermination of the Ukrainian people a leading symbol of the Soviets' blatant disregard for basic human rights.



Marchers passing in front of the White House.



# ine's "Forgotten Holocaust"

October 2, 1983

Photographs on these pages by Peter Fedynsky

statement; His Beatitude Metropolitan Mstyslav, head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church; the Rev. Paska, of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; Mr. Mykola Plaviuk, Vice-President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians; Congressman Ritter; Maj. Gen. George Keegan, Jr. U.S. Air Force (Ret.); Prof. Mario Lopez Escobar, Paraguayan Ambassador; Russian human rights activist Vladimir Bukovsky; Rabbi Andrew Baker, Regional Chairman of the American Jewish Committee; Mr. Marek Czerwinski, exiled leader of the Polish Solidarity movement; Mr. Chris Gersten, chairman of the Freedom Foundation; Ukrainian human rights activist Ulan Mazurkevych; Dr. John Fils, president of the Ukrainian National Association; Prof. Peter Stercho, head of the National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine, 1932-33, which organized Commemorative Week; and Mr. Stephen Procyk, head of the Washington organizing committee. After the rally (police estimated the crowd at 9,000, while organizers said that between 15,000 and 20,000 people took part) began the march to the Soviet Embassy. Gathering at an intersection 500 feet from the Embassy (in accordance with federal law), the marchers heard the reading of the "Letter to the Kremlin from Ukrainian Americans," and sang the Ukrainian and American national anthems. The Week ended with Sunday's Memorial Concert at the Kennedy Center Concert Hall.

## Statement by President Ronald Reagan

September 30, 1983

I am pleased to join those gathered for this ceremony honoring the memory of the millions who died in the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33.



President Reagan, whose statement on the Great Famine was read at the rally by his Special Assistant, Mr. Morton Blackwell.



Dr. Robert Conquest, British historian and authority on the Soviet system, who is completing a major book on the Great Famine in Ukraine. During Commemorative Week Dr. Conquest took part in a press conference, the AEI Conference and a one-hour interview on a local Washington radio show.

This event provides an opportunity to remember those who suffered and died during the farm

collectivization and subsequent forced famine and period of severe repression. That attempt to crush the life, will, and spirit of a people by a totalitarian government holds important meaning for us today.

In a time when the entire world is outraged by the senseless murder of 269 passengers on Korean Airlines Flight #007, we must not forget that this kind of action is not new to the Soviet Union.

That the dream of freedom lives on in the hearts of Ukrainians everywhere is an inspiration to each of us.

I commend your participation in this special observance and the moral vision it represents. May it be a reminder to all of us of how fortunate we are to live in a land of freedom.

Ronald Reagan

## Excerpts from a letter to the Kremlin read in front of the Soviet Embassy:

We Ukrainian-Americans are 1 million strong, living in cities and towns throughout this greatest land of the United States of America. There are two additional millions of us living in other countries of the Free World. You have enslaved 50 million of our brothers and sisters in Ukraine and countless millions more live in daily terror of your dictatorship. You hide behind a Constitution that promises all freedoms, including sovereignty for Ukraine, yet in the past 14 years your tanks have rolled across Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. You continue to threaten Poland. One month ago you shot a Korean airliner out of the sky, cutting short 269 lives. Whenever the world questions your actions, your great propaganda machine is mobilized to twist the truth and to lie... We Americans of Ukrainian descent who survived your 1932-33 manufactured famine which destroyed 20 percent of the people of Ukraine... are going to tell our fellow Americans about the real Soviet Union... We know that you want to discredit us. But you will not succeed. For when you

shot down the Korean airliner, and lied about it, the world finally understood what you really are... You took the Breadbasket of Europe and you laid it to waste. And then you lied about it. You refused international aid to the starving masses of Ukraine. You shot people who tried to find food. You erected watchtowers across Ukraine to better be able to spot people fleeing the villages. You turned them back to starve.

We have come here to tell the world that this assault on the Ukrainian nation — its people, its language, its religions, and its culture continues today. Many of Ukraine's finest writers, and the flower of its cultural elite languish in the Gulag, the psychiatric prisons, and in places of internal exile far from Ukraine.

The 1932-33 Famine in Ukraine was a deliberate act of genocide



Part of the crowd at Washington Monument rally, Sunday, October 2.

— the only man-made famine in the history of the world. Although today your methods are different, your goal remains the same — you want to destroy the Ukrainian identity.



Vladimir Bukovsky, Russian human rights activist and former Soviet political prisoner, speaking at rally.

Your current leadership is aware of the genocidal famine and today's Russification policies. But they continue to deny them. Your history books make no mention of them.

The great Ukrainian Famine of



Marchers, part of crowd estimated at between 8,000 and 20,000, passing the White House.

1932-33 has not entered into Western consciousness as it should have. It became the "Forgotten Holocaust." But it is forgotten no longer. In the tragic death of the 269 aboard the Korean airliner, there has come a new awareness of what you are.

We Americans of Ukrainian descent, together with all Americans and people of the world who

respect human life — and value human liberty — we will see to it that those who died in your man-made Famine in Ukraine; that those who died aboard the Korean airliner, that those who continue to suffer under your dictatorship — we will see to it that they did not die, nor will they suffer, in vain.

From the speech delivered by the Honorable Mario Lopez Escobar, Ambassador of Paraguay to the U.S., Canada, and O.A.S.:

Seven million people died of hunger in a land that is well known as the breadbasket of the earth. The Ukrainian people would not yield to Communist rule and, in order to break Ukrainian resistance to the Communist regime, Moscow organized and carried out this monstrous genocide. The world was silent when this crime was being perpetrated and it remains silent even today. But the Ukrainian people have not given up the struggle against Communist tyranny and they have not forgotten the tragedy that befell their nation fifty years ago.



The Rev. Petro Galadza, a Ukrainian Catholic priest, and the Rev. John Shep, a Lutheran minister, pray at gate to Soviet Embassy, just before being arrested by Executive Protective Service police. Note Bible lying under gate.



# About Concentration Camps and Prisons in the U.S.S.R.

By Nina Strokata

The following article presents an account of clothing regulations imposed upon prisoners in Soviet concentration camps and prisons. The author, Dr. Nina Strokata, was a prisoner of conscience in a women's concentration camp in Mordovia from 1971 to 1975. Dr. Strokata was allowed to emigrate to the West in 1979, and she currently resides near Philadelphia. Through this article, Dr. Strokata hopes to expose the so-called "humanitarian" criminal justice system of Moscow, and to urge persons in the Free World to more active involvement in defense of the present GULAG population, which numbers over three million.

## 1. The clothing of female prisoners

Standardized prisoners' clothing is an old tradition of penal systems. In the U.S.S.R. this standardization is meant to mold the prisoner's behavior and to torment her or him.

A female prisoner's cotton dress is of dingy gray or chestnut color. The fabric is not colorfast and, after one washing, such a dress looks worn out. Lengthwise stripes, resembling prison bars, and the shapeless style of dress have a depressing effect. By regulation, the length of this dress, for the duration of the term, must be the same for all seasons of the year — never lower or higher than the knees.



A woman modeling the camp dress that former Ukrainian political prisoner Nadiya Svitlychna wore while imprisoned from 1972 to 1976. The sleeves have been shortened for the summer in violation of camp regulations.

Articles of underclothing are made of a white cotton fabric that quickly loses its original color because there are no facilities in prison for regular laundering.

Stockings are thick. Warm socks, knee socks, and leggings are permitted, but not during periods of additional punishment. Taking part in protest actions, not fulfilling work norms, or staying in bed without the doctor's permission are all considered "violations of the rules of the regime" in the GULAG.

For winter work outside prisoners' living quarters and for exercise periods, the women are issued short, quilted overcoats with fabric collars, known as *bushlat*, and a shorter, collarless paltry looking jacket, the ignominious *telogreyka*.

Black cotton pea coats, combined with faded cotton dresses, form a unique, tasteless combination that is designed to be



Dr. Nina Strokata

effective in severe Russian winters.

Dresses and coats are labeled on the chest with the prisoner's name, section of the criminal code under which she was sentenced, and the length of her term. In some camps, the label shows her name and the group (*otryad*) to which she belongs.

In her overcoat or without it the GULAG woman is a sexless creature. She wears men's shoes, black and heavy. But, at times, even these are in short supply, so prisoners are issued heavy black boots.

Although footwear is often not the right size, taking shoes off during work hours and exercise periods is forbidden. Slippers are permitted only in the barracks, cell blocks, or sick rooms. Contagious and non-contagious skin diseases or podiatric disorders are one of many varieties of prison pathology connected with the unique Soviet prison system.

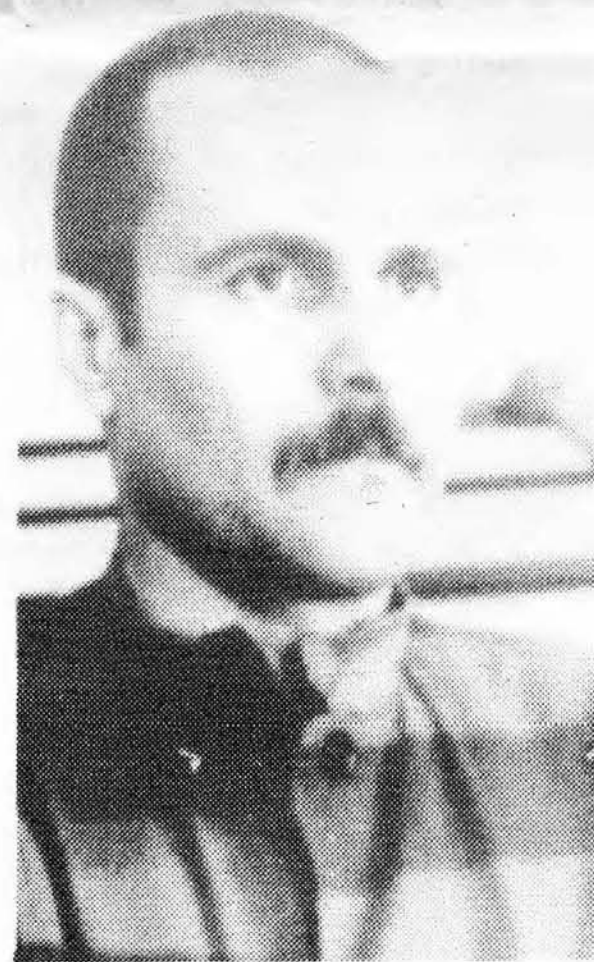
The newest regulations call for the women prisoners to cover their heads with scarves. They may be white or any other color, but not multicolored. The scarves may be only of cotton; any other fabric, silk, wool or synthetic materials are strictly forbidden. During the winter scarves can be made of dress scraps, but cannot be worn in the punishment isolation cell, known as SHIZO (an abbreviation for *shtrafnoy izolator*).

All clothing is bought by the prisoners with money earned through forced labor. Twice a year a prisoner is permitted to receive "bandoles," which are small packages weighing not more than 1 kg. (about 2 lbs.) each. Gloves, or any other articles of clothing cannot be elegant or colorful.

Women who work in the sew-

ing workshops sometimes manage secretly to "winterize" their garments by sewing remnants of material into the sleeves or the backs of the garments. If they are caught, however, punishment is swift and severe.

During so-called personal visits<sup>1</sup> women prisoners sometimes manage to exchange their undergarments with the family visitor. In preparation for such exchanges, the visitor puts on two pairs of underclothing, hoping that the guard will not notice that, after the visit, a prisoner is wearing a decent and warm slip under her prison garb. However, current prison regulations are trying to stop such exchanges: now a woman who is about to have a "personal visit" is forced by the guard to change into a special outfit (control suit) which must be returned to the same guard after the visit. In this way the punitive force of the law gains two victories: prisoners cannot get additional sources of warmth, nor do they have a way of hiding information about themselves or camp life in general in their clothing. Before she enters the visitation room her boots, shoes, paltry jacket (*telogreyka*), and coat are taken away because an enterprising prisoner could use them as a hiding place for information.



Ukrainian political prisoner Petro Ruban (imprisoned 1965-73, 1976-) shows the gray garb of a prisoner in a special regime camp.

Clothes worn in the living quarters are the same throughout the year, even though the temperature in prison camp buildings fluctuates as a result of fuel shortages and absence of thermostatic controls. The climate is severe in most of the regions where prisons and concentration camps of the U.S.S.R. are located; therefore, a prisoner is subjected to torture from the cold. The law permits heat to be used from October 14th to April 14th (regardless of the weather). The law also regulates the temperature of the buildings; it cannot be higher than 63 degrees F. (18 degrees C.). Primitive heating systems, predominantly wood

and coal stoves, are not able to maintain prescribed temperatures. Constant humidity inside the barracks often does not permit basic hygiene; thus, except for two or three months at the start of the summer, prisoners suffer from the cold. The night for a prisoner is winter at any time of the year.



Ukrainian political prisoner Ivan Kandya (imprisoned 1961-76, 1981-) in a "telogreyka." Visible is the tag (in Russian) bearing the prisoner's name and number of the group in which he is serving his sentence.

Women sleep on thin mattresses covered with a sheet, with one pillow and two cases. For cover they have one cotton quilt and a bed sheet. Although it is not permitted, older or sick women sleep in their clothing.

In 1977 in a women's concentration camp (Mordovian I.T.U., zh/kh 385/3-4)<sup>2</sup>, a thorough "clean-up" took place. All "unauthorized" articles of clothing and bed coverings occasionally left behind by freed prisoners were confiscated.

In the punishment cells (SHIZO) prisoners' clothing is even worse. It hardly covers the prisoner's body. The overcoat and any other rag is taken away so that a prisoner cannot use them in the cell block, in which there is no mattress, pillow, bedsheet, or quilt. In 1974, when Stephaniya Shabaturova was repeatedly thrown into the SHIZO for taking part in protest actions, the guards, after handcuffing her, ripped off her clothing because she had on forbidden warm underwear. The same brutality was used on women who, because of their religious beliefs, refused to participate in forced labor for an atheistic state. Infliction of punishment often results in shortages of clean clothing for the punished. Clothing that is used in punishment cells is particularly dirty because the women have nothing with which to carry out personal hygiene. When the prisoner is punished by being placed in the camp prison (the so-called PKT — *pomeshcheniye kamernovo tipa*),<sup>3</sup> she keeps all of her clothing except her overcoat. In the winter, her overcoat is given back to her only when she goes out for her daily exercise.

A woman prisoner's clothing generally does not depend on the regime (terms) of her incarceration, as it does for men.

## II. The clothing of male prisoners

Men's clothing depends on the regime which each one receives during his sentencing. Men who are sentenced to serve their time in ordinary, intensified, or strict regime are clothed the same: cotton pants and jacket of the most primitive fashion. Those that are sentenced to the special regime (in prison or concentration camp) are issued striped clothing. It was already mentioned that lengthwise stripes on women's clothing resembled prison bars. Men's clothing, on the other hand, has lighter and darker chestnut colored horizontal stripes which give the same effect.

Male underwear is also made out of cotton, and after a few primitive washings its color resembles that of the upper clothing.

For a while in the 1970s, male prisoners were permitted to have warm underwear, socks, and scarves. Male overcoats are the already mentioned *bushlat* and *telogreyka*.

Footwear is much the same as for women, since the footwear given women is actually men's. However, men who work outside in temperatures below -58 F. (-50 C.) wear felt boots.



Former Ukrainian political prisoner Valeriy Marchenko (imprisoned 1973-81) wearing the full uniform of a male prisoner in a strict regime camp.

The men's hats are unique. In the summer the men wear a crossbreed between the European kepi and a skull cap. In the winter a cap with ear-tabs (*ushanka*) and with strings for tying under the chin is worn. Prisoners are required to wear headgear when they are outside the barracks because regulations require that the hat be taken off when greeting any member of

(Continued on pg. 9)



## About Concentration Camps and Prisons...

(Continued from pg. 8)

the administration. If a prisoner inadvertently forgets this regulation there is a whole hierarchy of punishments, from taking away one month's privileges to buy additional foodstuffs in the store, to throwing one into the infamous SHIZO. The SHIZO is the SHIZO: no overcoat, no extra underwear, no pillow, no mattress, no other accessories for a normal sleep.

Prisoners of Zion have their own problems with their headgear because the laws of an atheistic country do not take into consideration religious traditions.

Some prisoners keep their hats on at night because cleanshaven heads cannot tolerate cold. The hat is used to cover one's head or face when sick. This therapy is not tolerated by the administration, which constantly looks for violations of the regime. Doctors from the punitive system allege that headgear at night is unhygienic and not palliative. In this way they sanction the administration's punishments.

Because of the headgear rules and the customs connected with headgear in the outside world prisoners often find themselves in situations that put them directly into punishment cells (SHIZO). For example, in 1973, during the evening head count, Vasyl Stus suggested the removing of hats for a moment to give tribute to a prisoner who had recently died. Vasyl Stus was punished immediately, because he allegedly incited prisoners to remove their hats at a time when it was forbidden to do so. This incident took place in Mordovian I.T.U., zh/kh 385/3-5.

At some labor sites prisoners are issued additional clothing and rubber boots free of charge.

Before each "personal visit" men are changed into "control clothing" and their *bushlat*, *telo-greyka*, hat and shoes are taken away. While this clothing is in the hands of the administration, hidden microphones are planted. This is not far from the world of fantasy. In some camps, before a prisoner is transported to a hospital or any other place, his overcoat is taken away and he receives another. In 1975 Vasyl Stus received one that was implanted with a microphone (Mordovia I.T.U. zh/kh 385/3-5).

Before a political prisoner is released he is usually taken to some prison or hospital. He is then issued a black uniform without stripes. This is the administration's last attempt to prevent smuggling of information. If the prisoner has no civilian clothing of his own he is released in his black uniform. The administration is very careful not to release a Soviet prisoner in his striped uniform.

All these manipulations with prisoners' clothing are directed

by the KGB although, formally, concentration camps and prisoners are under the jurisdiction of the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs).

One must imagine how much effort, cunning, savvy, and daring a prisoner must use daily in order to defend him or herself from the cold, which in itself can be as severe as hunger. Quite often both cold and hunger are acting simultaneously. In spite of all this prisoners try to improve their clothing by at least altering it to their size. This brings at least a temporary moral uplift. This of course does not change the general impression one gets, especially when one constantly observes the drastic differences between the elegant and well-tailored uniforms of the camp administrators and the unworthy of human dignity uniforms of the GULAG population.

### III. The problem of the prisoners' clothing

The problem of prison clothing is not one of aesthetics or social prestige. From time immemorial clothing has had the function of protecting the human body from the elements, and since that time a human being puts on as much as he or she needs. The regulation of the means for protecting the body, which the criminal justice system of the U.S.S.R. has adopted, is a conscious encroachment upon the needs of human beings to maintain their individuality.

The regulatory standards of clothing for male and female prisoners in the U.S.S.R. are a covert means of destructive and tormenting influence upon the body and mind of a human being.

<sup>1</sup> During personal visits the prisoner is left alone with members of his or her family. No more than three persons, including children, may be with the prisoner. The law allows only three visits to those who are serving their sentences in the camps. In severe regime camps only one personal visit is allowed per year. There are no "personal visits" in the prisons. Those who are sentenced for religious, political, or ideological convictions are sent to camps of severe regime. Thus, in fact, a prisoner of conscience is deprived of all intimate contact with his or her family.

<sup>2</sup> I.T.U. (*Ispravitelno-Trudovoye-Uchrezhdeniye*): corrective labor institution. zh/kh, are not abbreviations. They are code letters used in the mailing addresses of prisoners in Mordovian concentration camps.

<sup>3</sup> *Pomeshcheniye kamernovotipa*: premises of a cell block.

## An Appeal by Stefaniya Petrash-Sichko in Defense of Her Imprisoned Husband

The following letter from Stefaniya Petrash-Sichko has recently reached the West. In it, Sichko appeals to Yuriy Andropov for the release of her husband and two sons, all imprisoned Ukrainian human rights activists. Her husband, Petro Vasylyovych, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was first sentenced in 1979 to three years' imprisonment. Forty days before he was to be released, he was again arrested and, in July 1982, sentenced to three more years of imprisonment. The Sichko's oldest son, Vasyl, also a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was sentenced in 1979 along with his father to three years' imprisonment. After serving one and one-half years of his term, Vasyl was sentenced to an additional three years' imprisonment on fabricated charges. The Sichko's younger son, twenty-three-year-old Volodymyr, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in January 1981. Even while in prison, the Sichko's continue to be harassed and persecuted, as the following appeal describes.

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Comrade Yuriy V. Andropov.

Copy to the Prosecutor General

From: Citizen Petrash, Stefania Vasylyvna, who resides in the city of Dolyzna, Ivano-Frankivsk Region, 14 P. Myrny Street

### A Grievance

I don't actually know to whom this grievance should be sent so that it would really be investigated, and not, as always, responded to with a preprinted answer. I am forced to write by dire misfortune.

In my family there are three who have been arrested, sentenced, and are serving sentences. My husband, Petro Vasylyovych Sichko, born in 1926, was sentenced in 1979 under Article 187, Section 1, of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. S.S.R. to three years' strict-regime imprisonment, to be served in the correctional labor colony (CLC) in Voroshylovhrad Region in the city of Bryanka, UL-314/11. Only forty days of his sentence remained when, on May 26, 1982, he was again arrested and on July 19 of the same year sentenced to three more years on fabricated charges under the same Article 187-1, Criminal

Code of the Ukr. S.S.R. They changed his strict regime to one even more severe. From the day of his arrest to the day of his trial no one questioned him, not even once. But when he was brought to trial three witnesses (probably from among the prisoners), whom my husband never saw before, testified that P.V. Sichko frequently spoke that his sons were sentenced unjustly and that P.V. Sichko was unsatisfied with the administration of the (penal) Colony. All the grievances that Sichko had written to our higher Soviet institutions were attached to the charges. On July 5, 1982 the day my husband was supposed to have been released, my apartment was searched on the authority of the Voroshylovhrad prosecutor. The warrant mentioned that it was necessary to find the grievances that my husband had written and passed on to me during my visits. I want to point out that before being allowed to visit and again afterwards (and these were rare occurrences), I was stripped naked and all my clothes were searched. My husband had sent all his statements and grievances through

(Continued on pg. 12)

## A Russian Dissident Speaks on Nationality Issues

(Continued from pg. 4)

destroy their reputations in order to show, look, this is not some Ukrainian Helsinki Group, but simply a gang of criminals. This is simply the approach with respect to the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. I must say that with respect to the Moscow Helsinki Group they do not do this. We are tried on the basis of the political articles. Why? We are in direct contact with Western correspondents. They know us. And for that reason it is not possible to claim that Orlov, let's say, stole a silver spoon. But those people are known to them only by their names. And that is why they (the Soviet authorities) try to present the flower of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, which joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, as some kind of band of criminals.

Q. Of the defendants in the so-called Leningrad hijacking trial, all of the Jewish participants have been released and most of them received permission to leave the Soviet Union. But two participants in that hijacking attempt — Murzhenko, a Ukrainian, and Fyodorov, a Russian — have not been released. What are the authorities trying to say with this kind of approach?

A. I think that this is also to disorient and disunite the

national movements and to discredit Western support for these movements. It is as if they want to say: You see, Jewish organizations save Jews but do not want to help others. This is absolutely untrue, for Jewish organizations sought the release of all the participants of that trial and continue to seek the release of Murzhenko, the Ukrainian, and Fyodorov, the Russian. But the final decision is up to the Soviet government. And it was its decision to free the Jews and leave the Ukrainian and the Russian. I think that it is, first of all, its desire to disunite and discredit people and, secondly, I think that in some way they — the Soviet authorities — consider a Ukrainian and a Russian more guilty before them than they do Jews, whose historical homeland is found outside the borders of the Soviet Union. They cannot forgive a Russian and Ukrainian that they wanted to leave that land and for that reason they dealt with them especially harshly. This was the case not only at this trial. Despite all the inequality, all the complexity of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union, still a significant segment of *refuseniks* does get to leave. A greater number of Ukrainians and Russians and other people, however, also want to leave.

But for them this issue is much

more complicated than it is for the Jews, because, if, for the Jews, the Soviet government does not allow some of them to leave, let's say, in the case of reunification of families, for Russians and Ukrainians, this possibility is closed off almost completely.

Q. The Moscow Helsinki Group has suspended its activity. Is this temporary? If not, what will come in place of this group?

A. This is not completely so, that the Helsinki Group stopped its activity. It was the last three members of the Group who were still at liberty that announced a halt of their activity, and they were speaking only on their own behalf, that under the existing conditions they could not continue their activity. But the Group had 20 people. Most of them are imprisoned, and some have emigrated. And that decision does not extend to them. It was a decision not by the Group but by three members of the Group about their personal activity. Will the Group's work be resumed? I do not know. It is difficult to answer that question. I am convinced that the human rights movement exists and will continue to exist. But whether it will continue in the form of a Helsinki movement or in some new, changed form, only time will tell.



## FOR UKRAINE'S PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL SPORTING EVENTS!

Ukraine — a nation of 50 million people and a member of the United Nations — is denied the right to participate in international sporting events. Ukrainian athletes are forced to compete as members of the team of the Soviet Union, the power that enslaves their country. Their achievements in sports are credited to the "Russians" and are usurped to enhance the prestige of the Soviet government.

## Freedom of Speech Threatened at International Sporting Events

by Osyp Zinkewych

It is not very often that there is a chance or a need to speak out about a real threat to democracy and freedom of speech in Western democratic countries. A threat is thought to exist when a society is in danger of a seizure of power by extremist totalitarian forces, communist or fascist.

This summer we twice witnessed threats to democracy, to the right, guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to disseminate information freely. It happened in the press centers at two international sporting events — the Universiade '83 (World University Games) in Edmonton, Canada, and the first World Track and Field Championships in Helsinki, Finland.

During the World University Games the official delegation of the U.S.S.R., headed by Ryashentsev, took the unprecedented step of calling a press conference. Using Universiade facilities as a forum, it demanded that officials put a stop to the dissemination of information on Ukrainian athletes included in the U.S.S.R. team and on Ukraine's right to independent participation in international sports competition.

The head of the Soviet delegation found himself in a very curious situation. After receiving instructions from Moscow (this much was learned later from Soviet sources in Edmonton), he called a press conference for July 5, 1983, to issue a statement of protest against Smoloskyp's dissemination of these materials. Smoloskyp's reporter then challenged Soviet officials to address the issue of Ukraine's right to independent participation at the Universiade and other international events. The Soviet protest, strangely, did not rate even a mention in any newspaper in the U.S.S.R. For its part, the Universiade Organizing Committee decided to delete from the official transcript of the press conference not only the Soviet statement, but also the Smoloskyp reporter's exchange with Soviet spokesmen. It was as if, officially, there had never been a protest statement from Ryashentsev nor any questions from the Smoloskyp reporter. If it had not been for the Edmonton newspapers, the press conference and the Ukrainian confrontation with the Soviets would have gone completely unnoticed.

It is for this reason that we are publishing, elsewhere in this newspaper, the transcript of that part of the Soviet press conference that concerns the Ukrainian issue. We have provided our own English translation, because the official Soviet translator present resorted to distortions, to on-the-spot censorship, if you will.

It was a similar story in Helsinki at the first World Track and Field Championships. There Smoloskyp's materials were banned from the press center, and, at the insistence of the Soviet delegations, removed by monitors stationed at every point where informational materials were being distributed. There was more. Two copies of a brochure, titled "Ukrainian Olympic Champions" (published in 1972), which had been donated to the press center's library and which the librarian had gratefully accepted, were, three days later, removed from the library and banned. Even as a reference guide for journalists, based exclusively on information published in the U.S.S.R., this book was confiscated and banned.

What were these materials that Smoloskyp disseminated at the Universiade in Edmonton and the World Track and Field Championships in Helsinki? Did they call for revolution in the U.S.S.R.? For war with the U.S.S.R.? Did they contain calls to terrorism? Violence? Murder? Did Smoloskyp spread lies about anyone or anything? Absolutely not! There was nothing of the kind! There was only a list of Ukrainian world record holders in track and field, information about Ukrainian athletes included in U.S.S.R. teams, and appropriate comments about Ukraine's right to independent participation in international sporting events.

Can it be that sports officials are ignorant about the long, determined struggle of many nations for the right to independent participation in the Olympic Games and other sporting events? Obviously they have not read what the founder of the modern Olympic movement, Pierre de Coubertin, wrote about the pre-World War I struggle of the Finns, the Hungarians, and the Czechs for this right. De Coubertin gave his full support to

these just aspirations. According to the bylaws of the International Olympic Committee and all international sports federations, Ukraine and Byelorussia (incidentally, members of the United Nations), as well as the Baltic countries, also have that same right. The case of Ukraine and these other countries occupied by the Soviets is not the internal matter of the U.S.S.R.

Is it a crime, then, to disseminate truthful, objective information about athletes, information which Soviet officials, for whatever reason, refuse to give out?

Would there be anything illegal, for example, if someone in Canada compiled a list of that multi-cultural country's athletes according to their ethnic origin and disseminated it? Would there be any protests against this? Surely not.

South Africa was banned from international sports for apartheid — its policy of racial segregation and discrimination. But when the Soviet regime resorts to national discrimination, when nations that in their history, culture, language, and traditions are separate and distinct are denied separate representation in international sporting events,

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### WHO HAS THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES?

According to Articles 25, 39, and 45 of the IOC regulations, all states, countries and nations, including colonies, dominions and principalities, have the right to independent participation in the Olympic Games.

### DOES UKRAINE HAVE THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE INDEPENDENTLY IN THE OLYMPIAD?

Yes, formally Ukraine, or the Ukrainian SSR, is accorded by the Soviet Constitution the status of an independent state with a system of government similar to other Eastern European States represented at the Olympiad. It is a member of the U.N., UNESCO and many other international organizations. It has therefore the right to participate in the Olympiad and to be a separate member of the IOC.

### WORLD CHAMPIONSHIPS IN CYCLING

100KM TEAM PURSUIT  
Zurich, Switzerland,  
August 23-29, 1983

#### GOLD

Chuzhda, Oleh; Zinoviyev, Oleksander (100km — 1:59.12)

## AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIAN COLONIALISM IN SPORTS!

## UKRAINE'S MEDALISTS

Because Ukraine is deprived of its right to field independent sports teams in international competition, the achievements of her athletes are credited to the Soviet Union.

Given below are lists of Ukrainian athletes who won medals in major international sports competitions during Summer 1983.

### XII UNIVERSIADE '83

Edmonton, Canada, July 1-11, 1983

#### GOLD (Individual)

##### Athletics

Pinigina (Kulchunova), Maria (400m — 50.47)

Tamm, Yuriy (Hammer Throw — 76.82m)

##### Swimming

Fesenko, Serhiy (200m Butterfly — 2:00.38) UR\*

Markovsky, Oleksiy (100m Butterfly — 54.65) UR

#### GOLD (Team)

##### Fencing

Vynnyk, Oleksander (Team Sabre, Men)

##### Gymnastics

Martsinkiv, Stepan (Team, Men)

##### Swimming

Markovsky, Oleksiy (4 x 400m Medley Relay — 3:44.3) UR

Chayev, Oleksander; Semenov, Svyatoslav (4 x 200m Freestyle — 7:27.22) UR

Krasyuk, Serhiy; Markovsky, Oleksiy; Tkachenko, Volodymyr (4 x 100m Freestyle, Relay — 3:21.72) UR

#### SILVER (Individual)

##### Cycling

Muzhycky, Pavlo

##### Swimming

Sydorenko, Oleksander (200m Ind. Medley — 2:04.21)

Semenov, Svyatoslav (1500m Freestyle — 15:28.36)

#### SILVER (Team)

##### Fencing

Lohvyn, Vitaly (Team Foil, Men)

##### Swimming

Markovsky, Oleksiy (4 x 400m Medley Relay — 3:44.33)

#### BRONZE (Individual)

##### Athletics

Pactukhov, Yuriy (Hammer Throw — 73.38)

##### Fencing

Sokolov, Volodymyr (Individual, Epee, Men)

##### Swimming

Semenov, Svyatoslav (400m Freestyle — 3:56.77)

#### BRONZE (Team)

##### Tennis

Filev, Yuriy

\*Universiade Record

### FIRST WORLD CHAMPIONSHIPS IN ATHLETICS

Helsinki, Finland, August 7-14, 1983

#### GOLD (Individual)

Avdeyenko, Henady (High Jump — 2.32m)

Bubka, Serhiy (Pole Vault — 5.70m)

#### SILVER (Individual)

Syedykh, Yuriy (Hammer Throw — 80.94m)

— 80.94m)

#### BRONZE (Individual)

Pinigina, Maria (400m — 49.19)

#### BRONZE (Team)

Pinigina, Maria (4 x 400m — 3:21.16)

### VII EUROPEAN JUNIOR CHAMPIONSHIPS IN ATHLETICS

Vienna, Austria, August 25-28, 1983

#### GOLD

##### Women

Baluta, L. (Long Jump — 6.67m)

Cherniyenko, N. (Javelin Throw — 62.04m)

##### Men

Dorozhon, S. (Hammer Throw — 74.28m)

Matyushenko, M. (2000m Steeplechase — 5:31.54)

Mishchenko, R. (400m Hurdles — 49.71)

Serhiyenko, Yu. (High Jump — 2.28m)

Zolotukhin, O. (Shot Put — 19.20m)

#### SILVER

Hlebov, S. (Javelin Throw — 77.86m)

Kulish, M. (Shot put — 18.29m)

### EUROPEAN SWIMMING CHAMPIONSHIPS

Rome, Italy, August 20-27, 1983

#### GOLD (Team)

Krasyuk, Serhiy; Markovsky, Oleksiy; Tkachenko, Volodymyr (4 x 100m Freestyle — 3:20.88) ER

Markovsky, Oleksiy (4 x 100m Butterfly — 3:43.99)

#### SILVER

Fesenko, Serhiy (200m Butterfly — 1:59.74)

#### BRONZE

Markovsky, Oleksiy (100m Butterfly — 54.81)



## FREEDOM OF SPEECH THREATENED AT INTERNATIONAL SPORTING EVENTS

(Continued from pg. 10)

some officials (including American) try to cover this issue up, keep it off the agenda and deny it even exists.

Even the head of the Soviet delegation at the World University Games, Ryashentsev, got confused on the issue. On one hand he tried to prove that Ukraine, and especially Estonia, do have their own international sports ties (and so, it would follow, have a right to such ties). But on the other hand he insisted that Ukraine and Estonia do not have such ties, inasmuch as this, he claimed, is "an internal matter of the U.S.S.R."

Did anyone protest when Puerto Rico wanted to be represented in international sports by its own teams, separate from those of the U.S.? Probably not. And surely not the U.S. Olympic Committee, the International Olympic Committee, or international sports federations.

Then why so much noise when a Ukrainian reporter talks and writes about this issue? Why the threats to deny him press accreditation and expel him from the International Sports Press Association?

Why the double standard?

The administrators of international sports are faced with a basic issue: are press centers at international sporting events to be centers for a truly free press, for the exchange of true and objective information on issues that are relevant to sports? Or, under pressure from the Soviets and subjected to their blackmail, will these centers be used to limit, censor, and ban such information, in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords? Will we tolerate this antidemocratic practice, this throwback to the darker pages of human history, upon which totalitarian regimes of the extreme right and the extreme left rely to this day?

(Smoloskyp's reporter, Osyp Zinkewych, is the first to raise his hand. He is acknowledged by E. Miller, a Universiade official in charge of the press conference.)

Zinkewych: I have two very basic questions on the right of participation in the Universiades. I have one question for the head of the Soviet delegation, and another for Mister Drachevsky, the vice-president of FISU (the International Federation of University Sports).

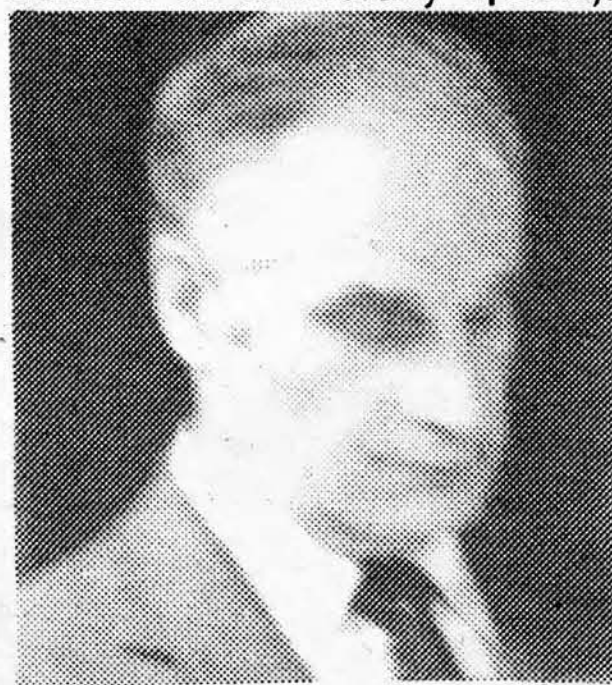


Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

**Nikolai Ryashentsev, head of the Soviet delegation to Universiade '83 and vice-president of the Olympic Committee of the U.S.S.R.**

How would you explain that Puerto Rico, a territory of the United States of America, takes part here with its own national team, while Ukraine and Byelorussia — two countries which, according to their constitutions are independent, and which are members of the United Nations, UNESCO and many other international organizations, — do not take part in this Universiade? Estonia, which took part in the first international University Games back in 1924, is also not represented here. I know what you are talking about here — about athletes who are included in the Soviet team. That is not the question I am asking. My question is: Why are Ukraine and Byelorussia not taking part in these Games? My second question, for the vice-president, is according to the FISU charter, do Ukraine and Byelorussia, members of the United Nations, have the right to take part in the Universiades, or do they not have the right?

Ryashentsev: I do not know, but it could be that the translation of my statement was not all that clear, or perhaps the gentleman did not hear the answer to the question he is putting to me. I am once again speaking on the matter of rights. Every country, every state, determines its participation in the Olympic Games. In the Soviet Union we have a National Olympic Committee of the U.S.S.R. It forms a team of all Soviet athletes, including not only Estonia, Byelorussia and Ukraine, but also Uzbekistan, and Georgia, and Armenia, and Latvia, and Moldavia, and so on, and so forth. We are not very interested in the case of Puerto Rico and the United

States and how they take part. It could be that tomorrow the United States will enter 49 teams. This has nothing to do with the United Nations structure, if they, those states have Olympic committees. As far as I know they do not have them. Neither do we have Olympic committees in Kirghizia and Estonia. We have one Olympic Committee of the U.S.S.R.; it puts together the team of the Soviet Union. An athlete of any republic considers it a great personal honor to be included in that team and to compete in the Olympic Games under the flag of the Soviet Union. This is our right. We feel that this is the way it should be and we will do it this way.

I want to add something to this. Since the gentleman mentioned Estonia here, that is, the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, then I want to say that this republic has quite extensive international ties, especially with neighboring Finland. If there are gentlemen here who represent the Finn media, then they know this quite well and I know this quite well, because I am involved in these issues — that every year the athletic organizations of Estonia and Finland conclude a bilateral agreement on an exchange of sports delegations and successfully carry this out.

Drachevsky: I am pleased that during these few days, that I have been in the capacity of the vice-president of FISU, that my first statement to the press begins with an explana-

tion of the rules of FISU. I am taking a risk, but I will try to explain this. FISU unites national student organizations and each student athletic organization sends its delegation to the Universiade. We in the Soviet Union have one, the Burevye-nik sports organization, of which I am the vice chairman. The national sports organization of the United States sends its team here, and so on, and so forth. And I think that, if there is such an agreement, this question has no basis. Well, and if Puerto Rico has its own independent national student organization, that is their business. That is the way we decided and that is the way we decided to act. I do not see an issue in this. You've gone off in the wrong direction. O.K.?

Zinkewych: No, it's not O.K. This was not my question. Tell me yes or no: Does Ukraine have the right to take part in the Universiades? (The Soviet delegates and journalists begin to shout.) Tell me, yes, or no?

Drachevsky: This is matter for the National Olympic committee, the national sports organization.

Miller (the FISU official in charge of the press conference, interrupts Drachevsky and addresses Zinkewych): Excuse me. I think that due to our limited time, if you wish to ask them directly and fight with them, then do this later. (The Soviet delegation applauds.) Are there any questions for the head of the (Soviet) delegation?

### Transcript of the U.S.S.R. press conference at Universiade '83

Given below is a transcript of part of the July 5 press conference, held by the Soviet delegation at the Universiade '83 press center in Edmonton. This part was not included in the transcript issued by World University Games officials. Nikolai Ryashentsev, the head of the Soviet delegation, is also the vice president of the U.S.S.R. Olympic Committee. Leonid Drachevsky, who in Edmonton was elected the vice president of the International Federation of University Sports (FISU), the organizers of the World University Games, of Universiades, is also the vice chairman of the Soviet youth sports organization, Burevye-nik.

Ryashentsev: We constantly feel the great interest on the part of the media, especially radio, newspaper and magazine correspondents. And we are always ready to answer all questions that have to do with the Universiade and that reflect a real interest in Soviet sports, Soviet athletes, student athletes, and, to the extent of our possibilities, we are always ready to satisfy these legitimate interests of the representatives of the press. But we really do not understand the attempts by some gentlemen and organizations who, through the press service, through the Universiade press service, want to teach the Soviet delegation on how its competitions in the Soviet Union should be organized and through what teams Soviet athletes should take part in the competition. This we do not understand. We feel that such lectures should not be directed at us nor disseminated through the Universiade press service. I would especially like to cite one example, the press release of the press center, which was issued in the name of the organization Smo...Smol... (he takes Smoloskyp's press release, raises it up, and then seemingly tries to read from it, but can't, and gives it to his translator).

Translator: The Smoloskyp

Information Service.

Ryashentsev: Yes. These gentlemen, this organization wants to teach us what kind of team we should send to the Olympic Games (agitatedly) to the Universiades. These gentlemen use the Universiade's media. They distributed this press release of theirs at all the press centers. This Smo...Smol...

Translator: Smoloskyp Information Service.

Ryashentsev: Yes. They want to teach us that we should create a Ukrainian team composed only of Ukrainians. Of Ukrainians only. But not only Ukrainians live in Ukraine, but also Russians, Jews and other nationalities. The case of Ukraine is an internal matter of the U.S.S.R. Our internal matter. And we will not allow some gentlemen from Smo...Smol...

Translator: Smoloskyp Information Service.

Ryashentsev: Yes. Ukraine also has its international sports ties. But we will not allow some gentlemen to teach us how we are to conduct our athletic affairs. We cannot allow such press releases to be distributed in Universiade press centers, for these gentlemen to use the media for some purposes which are unclear to us.

We are ready to answer your questions.

### "Only Enough Aid to Fight and Die?"

by Andrew L. Eiva

A congressional delegation, consisting primarily of members of the House Foreign Appropriations Subcommittee,\* visited Pakistan from August 24th to the 27th to determine the effectiveness of American aid to Afghan guerillas. Although their report is not yet available, evidence of poor aid to the Afghans persists in spite of an alleged increase in the CIA's Afghan budget since the Reagan administration took over.

While with the Afghan resistance this January, I had the opportunity to inspect several storage sites representing one-sixth of this winter's deliveries.

Crates containing over 1000 anti-tank mines were stacked in one room. The mines would be a truly valuable weapon, except that the arming devices were screwed out and missing, rendering the whole lot useless.

I also inspected cases of electric blasting caps and nonelectric fuse igniters of American manufacture. Having worked extensively with both items while assigned to the Green Berets, I immediately recognized that the resistance was receiving two nonmatching systems, which rendered both worthless.

(Continued on pg. 12)

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## An Appeal by Stefaniya Petrash-Sichko in Defense of Her Imprisoned Husband

(Continued from pg. 9)

the camp administration. This is allowed by law.

After five months' stay in prison, my husband was transferred to the city of Kherson — 32 YuZ-17/90. There he was assigned to the invalid brigade because his tuberculosis had flared up again. Besides this, because, while in prison, he had been kept in some special cell where the ventilation system was constantly whining and blowing, he also came down with shingles.

He arrived at Correctional Labor Colony Yu Z-17/90 on October 31, 1982; I was allowed a brief visit with him on November 15, 1982, and from then on I received from him only two letters in four months.

I now get no letters from my husband. I write to him in care of the camp commandant — I receive no answer. I had to travel there to find out if my husband is alive. But to get to the offices, one must pass through the waiting room and they would not let me in. To call anyone out of the administration offices into the waiting room is very difficult.

I tried for four days, but I could not reach the commandant or his deputy. The section chief, Shupelov, answered by telephone that my husband was being held in a penal isolation cell for not fulfilling his work quota, and for this he was deprived of all visits for one year and of his hot plate. How can a sick person earn so much in three and one-half months: a penal isolation cell, loss of visits and of the hot plate. An invalid does not fulfill his quota, but how many brigades in the zone sit idle because there is no work for them. I appealed to the Kherson prosecutor in writing, but as yet I have received no answer.

The second member of our family under arrest is my oldest son, Vasyl Petrovych Sichko, born in 1956, sentenced together with his father in 1979 under Article 187-1, Criminal Code of the Ukr. S.S.R., and sentenced to three years' special-regime imprisonment. He was sent to CLC 82-325/62 in the city of Cherkasy to serve his sentence.

Here with still a year and one-half left in his sentence, they took pains to fabricate in advance a second term for him. It is impossible to describe the derision and torment my son experienced before his second arrest and during his trial. Not one normal person would believe it, and I, his mother, am afraid to mention that which my son underwent for fear of tearing open unhealed wounds.

My son, Vasyl Sichko, never drank alcoholic beverages, never smoked, never used chifir — not even the camp administration denies this — but was tried under Article 229-6-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. S.S.R. ("possession of narcotics without intent to sell") and sentenced to three years of strict-regime camps. He is now in the city of Vinnytsya, I-13-301/86. (In Vinnytsya there is a labor camp at 30 Pryvokzalna St., ust. IV-301/86).

On January 4, 1982, unaware of anything, I took a parcel to my son. I arrived in CLC 325/62 on the day of the trial. I was not allowed to attend the trial even after intervention by the Cherkasy regional prosecutor, Besida, who in my presence telephoned the court and said that my son's case is a criminal one, that the trial should be open, and that, according to the law, relatives should be allowed to be present. Not only was I not allowed to see him after the trial or the next day. It turned out that before the trial my son was beaten, by a zek (an inmate), they said. He was beaten so badly that his eyes could not be seen through the bruises and swelling; this greatly amused the judges, and they poked fun at my son.

In his last letter in January 1983, my son Vasyl writes that, allegedly for not fulfilling his work quota, he is being deprived of his only annual visit and that he is placed on report every day. Zek foremen and the hired outside foreman told my son that they received orders to this effect from the regimen officer, Oleksiyenko: to keep on reporting V. Sichko until he is again sentenced.

How am I to understand this?

That they are fabricating a case for life imprisonment?

The third person under arrest is my younger son, Volodymyr Petrovych Sichko, born in 1960. He was expelled from Kiev State University from the Department of Mechanics and Mathematics for the "sins of his father and brother" — according to the excuse the dean of the Department, Zavalo, gave to students. Volodymyr was arrested on December 6, 1980, and on January 9, 1981, he was sentenced under Article 72 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. S.S.R. to three years of general regime.

I won't speak here about how "easy" it is for me to secure a meeting. In order to get a meeting or to pass on a parcel, I have to travel three times, a thousand kilometers each time, and return home with nothing before they let me have it. That's the kind of system it is.

Since January 1983 the regime for Volodymyr Sichko has become more cruel. He is constantly and without basis being called out on report. Whatever happens in the prison zone, it is always blamed on him. Somehow in January his section had a misunderstanding with its leader, and did not go to the mess hall for supper. My son was called out to the operations section and told "you disorganized the section," when in fact he had said nothing to the section. In February, this episode was repeated; no one went to the mess hall for supper, but my son went himself, in order to stay out of trouble, although the zeks could have beaten him for this. The next day, my son was again called out to the operations section, and again accused of talking his section into not going to supper.

Volodymyr had the right to receive a parcel in February, but they didn't accept it; even now I don't know why. I returned home and found a telegram from the camp (unsigned) saying "parcel is permitted." But someone from the administration came to my son (probably the section leader) and said: "You have received a parcel of five kilograms of tea. What do you need this for?" This, unquestionably, is blackmail. Besides me, no one else sends parcels to my son and he doesn't drink tea. Volodymyr said: "You know I don't drink tea and don't smoke. Why do you say these things? My letters are censored and you know very well that I didn't ask for tea." (Tea is brewed over and over to produce *chifir*, a stimulant.)

My son, and only he, is subjected to searches. They took

away the addresses of his father and brother under the pretext that these were forbidden materials. They took away a greeting card in which I wish my son freedom; this also isn't allowed. If this is so, then why do the censors allow the card to be delivered in the first place? They even pick on my son for having a neat and orderly locker. This also tells them something about him.

I know where all this bullying is heading. My son doesn't even suspect what is behind all this.

Volodymyr wrote to the prosecutor about everything and wanted to transmit this statement through the section chief, Major Hyrya. Major Hyrya erupted and declared, "What are you threatening me with the prosecutor and law for; all the law that is over you is my fist; I'll do what I want with you." My son then added this phrase to his statement. And on the very day the prosecutor entered the zone. (I had contacted him by mail about my son.) My son handed him the statement. The prosecutor read it and answered, "Major Hyrya, obviously, should not have told you this out loud." And that's all. The administration is not subject to punishment.

False lies and provocations are needed in order again to try this pure and honest youth who does not deserve any punishment. Really, is the objective of a correctional work colony to secure, through various ruses, another sentence for a wonderful and honest human being?

Of course, if they want to convict, they'll surely convict. There can always be found two despicable zeks who will testify to any lie; and this is enough to add to the sentence of an innocent person. I already know this from the examples of my older son and husband. Volodymyr's eyesight has worsened by fifty percent.

I appeal to you as a mother and wife, in the hope that you do not know about the lawlessness that is being perpetrated against my sons and husband by the administration of the camps. You must not allow any more fabrications of new sentences. You must not allow the crude violation of laws and, in this manner, you will help me.

But if you already know about this and it is being done with your permission, then all that I can do is to excuse myself.

March 10, 1983 S.V. Petrash

### "Only Enough Aid to Fight and Die?"

(Continued from pg. 11)

The medium mortar is internationally accepted as the guerillas' choice due to its firepower and portability. The potential impact on the Afghan war is demonstrated by the fact that mortar fire destroyed over 1500 of the 3000 American helicopters lost in Vietnam. Of the types of medium mortars available internationally, the CIA is delivering the one with the poorest accuracy and shortest range, the Soviet 82mm, to the resistance.

Furthermore, the ammunition has a dud or misfire rate of 55%. The combination of the mortar's own shortcomings with the poor ammunition has resulted in an overall weapons system so worthless that even the underarmed and under-equipped Mujahedeen coming in for resupply this January were refusing to accept the 82mm rounds.

The main need of the guerillas is so obvious that even Afghan refugee children as young as four years old know what weapon the Mujahedeen needs most: "rockets." Specifically, the Afghans need heat-seeking, shoulder fired, portable anti-air rockets to knock down the Soviet armored helicopters that are pulverizing the villages of Afghanistan.

The Afghan resistance has several such rockets, one of which is the SAM-7. The SAM-7's record in combat has been a disastrous one. Syrian and Egyptian soldiers fired 2100

SAM-7s at Israeli combat aircraft in the Yom Kippur war of 1973, scoring some hits but no kills. The CIA's own record of its 1975-76 secret war in Angola shows that 26 SAM-7 firings failed to bring down a single aircraft. Thus, the combat history of the SAM-7s makes the selection of the SAM-7 for the Afghan resistance curious. Although the SAM-7 fails to bring down combat aircraft, it does create a puff of smoke and a smoke trail that gives away the gunner's position for the gunship to spot.

I showed the following words of Senator Tsongas' resolution to a Mujahedeen commander as an example of the American political effort to improve the situation, "It would be indefensible to give the Afghan Freedom Fighters only enough aid to fight and die, but not enough to advance their cause of freedom."

He sadly shook his head and answered, "It (the U.S. supply of weapons) is not even enough to fight and die."

\* The Congressmen on this trip include: Clarence Long (D.-Md.); Charles Wilson (D.-Tex.); Robert Mrazek (D.-N.Y.); C.W. Bill Young (R.-Fla.); Joseph McDade (R.-Pa.); Julian Dixon (D.-Ca.); William Lehman (D.-Fla.); Mickey Edwards (R.-Okla.); John Porter (R.-Ill.).

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